

# Any regrets, General?

The role of media in the fall of General  
Pervez Musharraf from power



Master's thesis in Nordic Media

Anam Javaid

Department of Media and Communication

University of Oslo, Norway

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# Abstract

*“Media forms an integral part of statehood in this era of information. I have great regard and respect for the media; I trust it to play a positive and constructive role. I am a firm believer in the freedom of the press and am even considering liberalising the policy on the establishment of private television and radio channels.”*

*-General Pervez Musharraf's, Address to the Nation, 17 October 1999*

This thesis is about the interaction between the media and Musharraf during the political crisis of 2007 and what role the media played in overturning Musharraf from power. In the past decade there were huge changes in the media landscape of Pakistan. General Pervez Musharraf who came to power through a military coup d'état in 1999 initiated an unprecedented liberalisation process for media in Pakistan. Media has played an important role in the Pakistani society for good and for worse in the past decade. I have narrowed down my study to the power struggle that unfolded in Pakistan in 2007 that eventually led to Musharraf stepping down. The main research questions of my thesis are how certain parts of the Pakistani media covered the power struggle between Musharraf and judiciary that ultimately led to the resignation of Musharraf as the head of the powerful Pakistani army and what impact media had on the downfall of Musharraf from power.

My analysis shows that the Pakistani media was negative to Musharraf's actions. The media openly pointed out and showed Musharraf's mistakes to the public. By doing so media took the role of an accelerator, in which media's coverage led to more unpopularity for Musharraf and thereby removing his political base. Through media, Musharraf was able to see the massive sentiment in the society against him, and he understood that he had to resign as Chief of Army Staff.

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Anam Javaid

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My special thanks are extended to my parents and my siblings in supporting me morally and providing their never-ending love. I would also like to express my deep gratitude and love to my husband, Omar Saleemi, for his support throughout my study.

I would like to share my inspiration for freedom of expression and speech through the words of the great Pakistan poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz:<sup>1</sup>

*“Speak, your lips are free.  
Speak, the tongue is still yours – Your upright body is yours.  
Speak, the life is still yours.”  
Look at the blacksmith’s shop – Flames are burning – Iron is red. Locks  
are opening their jaws.  
Shadow of every chain has spread.  
“Speak, this little time is plenty – Before the death of body and tongue.  
Speak, the truth is still alive.  
Speak, say whatever you have to say.”*

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<sup>1</sup> Translation by Syed Adeeb



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# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Brief history

The Indus Valley, which is located in Pakistan, has been home to some of the oldest civilisations in the world. The Indus Valley civilisation existed around 2 500 B.C. along the Indus River valley in Punjab and Sindh.<sup>2</sup>

Pakistan itself is a relatively young country which came into existence on 14 August 1947, when Pakistan was given independence from Great Britain and became a sovereign state. The thought behind creating Pakistan was to give the Muslim minority living in the British colonial areas of India their own state.

Initially, Pakistan consisted of what is today known as Bangladesh (East Pakistan) and Pakistan (West Pakistan). The British Monarch was the head of state until 23 March 1956 when Pakistan became a Muslim and Parliamentary republic and was given the official name of *Islamic Republic of Pakistan*. After a civil war in 1971, East Pakistan became independent as the state of Bangladesh, while West Pakistan became the state of Pakistan.

Throughout Pakistan's history, the powerful military has dominated many aspects of the society. Pakistan has been under military dictatorship for three periods; 1958-1971, 1977-1988 and 1999-2008. This means that Pakistan has been under military dictatorship about half of the time the country has been independent.

Pakistan, in its short history, has been strategically important in many contexts. Pakistan was a frontline state during the Cold War, especially during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Later, Pakistan has become a front line state in the

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<sup>2</sup> Gill, N. (n.d.). Pakistan - Early Civilization in Pakistan. About.com Ancient / Classical History. Retrieved from <http://ancienthistory.about.com/od/indusvalleyciv/a/Pakistaneearly.htm>

global war on terrorism, in which Pakistan itself has become a victim of terrorism.

Pakistan's main rival has been India, due to fight over control over the Kashmir province. The countries have fought four wars (1948, 1965, 1971 and 1998). There are daily skirmishes between Pakistani and Indian troops on the Line of Control (LOC), which separates the Pakistani and Indian controlled Kashmir. The rivalry with India also led Pakistan to develop nuclear weapons capability, and Pakistan is currently the only Muslim country in the world to have this capability.

## 1.2 About Pakistan

Pakistan consists of 180 million people. The land area covers 856 km<sup>3</sup>, roughly three times the size of Norway. Pakistan consists of four provinces, Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, as well as four federal territories. The capital city is Islamabad.

96.4 % of Pakistani's are Muslims, while the remaining are mainly Christians or Hindus.<sup>3</sup> Ethnic lines often run along the Provincial borders. The largest ethnic groups are Punjabi, who account for about 44 % of the population, followed by Pashto and Sindhi, who each account for around 15 % of the population each.

Pakistan is a developing country. After experiencing rapid growth in the economy in the initial years of independence, bad governance, corruption, military rule and little transparency had led to slow economic growth and low living standard among a large portion of the population. A large portion of the population lives in rural areas, but at the same time Pakistan also has industrial centres with substantial production. However power deficits and social instability over the years has made it difficult for Pakistan to utilize its economic potential.

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<sup>3</sup> CIA. (n.d.). The World Factbook. Cia.gov. Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2122.html#pk>

## 1.3 About Musharraf

Pervez Musharraf was born on 11 August 1943 in India.<sup>4</sup> His family immigrated to Pakistan during the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, and settled in the port city of Karachi. He spent several years of his childhood in Turkey, as his father worked for the Pakistani Foreign Ministry there. He later went to college in Lahore, Pakistan before he joined the Pakistan Military Academy at Kakul (northern Pakistan) in 1961. He was commissioned in the Pakistani army in 1964 and took part in the wars with India both in 1965 and 1971. Musharraf steadily rose in the military ranks in the 1970's and 1980's. In 1991 he was elevated to the rank of major general in the Pakistani army.

General Pervez Musharraf became the head (Army Chief) of the powerful Pakistani Army on 6 October 1998, a post he held until 28 November 2007. Musharraf was the country's 13th Chief of Army Staff since independence from Great Britain in 1947. Musharraf was actually third in line to become the army chief, behind General Ali Kuli Khan and General Khalid Nawaz Khan.<sup>5</sup> Still, Musharraf was favoured by then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his closest advisers. Unconfirmed reports say that Musharraf was chosen because he was thought to be "*a straight officer with democratic views*". Prime Minister Sharif had already been forced to resign as Prime Minister in 1993 due to lack of support by the mentor of General Ali Kuli Khan, General Abdul Vaheed Kakar. It was a natural reaction for Sharif to be precocious in choosing the head of the army.<sup>6</sup>

For a long time Musharraf had advocated the "Kargil-plan", which consisted of infiltrating the Kargil area in India, across the border from Pakistan in Kashmir. The plan was conceived after India occupied the Siachin glacier in 1984. The plan

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<sup>4</sup> CNN. (2014). Pervez Musharraf Fast Facts. CNN. Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/05/17/world/meast/pervez-musharraf-fast-facts/index.html>

<sup>5</sup> Troubled history hangs over Pakistan's new army chief. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-opinion/troubled-history-hangs-over-pakistans-new-army-chief/article5399399.ece>

<sup>6</sup> Chandran, S. (2013). Ipscs.org. Retrieved from [http://www.ipcs.org/print\\_article\\_details.php?recNo=4234](http://www.ipcs.org/print_article_details.php?recNo=4234)

had been rejected by several civilian governments. As Army Chief, Musharraf got the chance to launch the long awaited plan. Pakistani troops and paramilitary forces infiltrated Indian military outposts in the Kargil area which had been abandoned by the Indians for the winter in 1998/1999. This led to a tense situation and India launched a large military operation to clear the area in the spring of 1999. Ultimately the Pakistani plan was a failure, and the conflict led to large loss of human lives on both sides. It is still unclear how well informed the Prime Minister was about the Kargil-plan. Nevertheless, the conflict was a huge embarrassment for Prime Minister Sharif and strained the relationship between Musharraf and Sharif.

In October of 1999 Musharraf left Pakistan to visit Sri Lanka. On returning to Pakistan, his flight was rejected landing in Karachi. Meanwhile, Prime Minister Sharif had replaced Musharraf as Army Chief with chief of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), General Khawaja Ziauddin. The Pakistani Army backed Musharraf in the power struggle, and placed Prime Minister Sharif under house arrest. Musharraf's plane landed in Karachi and Musharraf addressed the nation the same day and announced that the government of Prime Minister Sharif had been removed. Musharraf then suspended the Constitution, declared a state of emergency and assumed powers as Chief Executive of the country, thus becoming the third military leader to perform a successful military coup in Pakistan.

Initially there were mixed reactions to Musharraf's takeover. Many people were tired of ineffective and corrupt democratic governments and welcomed the takeover in hopes of a better future. Musharraf took a tough stance against his former boss, Nawaz Sharif. Sharif was sentenced to death by a court on anti-terrorism charges, but due to pressure from Saudi-Arabia and United States of America he was allowed to go into exile in Saudi-Arabia in December of 2000.

It would be the attacks of 9/11 in United States of America and later the fallout with the judiciary that would define Musharraf's time in power. Following the attacks of 9/11, Pakistan was given an ultimatum by the Americans to either join them in the war on terror or face the consequences. General Musharraf, the

absolute leader of Pakistan at that time, chose to side with the Americans. Pakistan and Musharraf were especially important in the war on terror as Pakistan was the only country in the world bordering the landlocked Afghanistan with deep sea port, besides Iran. In addition Pakistan had supported the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan in order to bring a friendly regime on its western borders.

## **1.4 The crises**

In 2007 Pakistan went through several crises. The crises are described in detail in chapter 6. In 2007, President Musharraf, due to different reasons, came in conflict with several parts of the Pakistan society, especially the judicial system. He removed the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, and in addition imposed a national emergency, side lining the constitution. This led to huge protests against Musharraf. For the first time in Pakistan's history, such protests against the government were covered by an independent media. Musharraf finally had to resign as head of the military on 28 November 2007.

## **1.5 Media in Pakistan in 2007**

As with many things in the Pakistan society, the structure of the Pakistani media can be difficult to understand. This is due to the fact that there is weak flow of information from corporations to the government, such as financial information and statistical reporting, and there is little or no publication of revenues, tax returns or annual reports.

Although I will focus my analysis on the print media, it is interesting to see the development of TV-channels in Pakistan. It is especially important because several large media groups controlled both the largest TV-channels and newspapers.

As of 2001 there were only a few television channels on air, and the largest channel, Pakistan Television (PTV) was controlled by the government. Foreign channels were available through satellite dishes. The privately owned Indus TV network started its transmission on 14th August, 2001.<sup>7</sup> People started taking interest in this channel and its viewership increased manifold within months. After Indus, Geo TV, founded by Mir Shakil ur Rehman, owner of the Jang Group of Newspapers, was launched in May 2002. The channel started its test transmission on 14 August 2002, whereas regular transmission began from 1 October 2002. From 2002 onwards the Pakistan electronic media industry, and specially TV-channels, flourished. Table 1 below shows number of licenses issued by Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) from 2002 to 2008<sup>8</sup>:

Number of licenses issued by PEMRA (2002-2008)	
Satellite TV Channels	77
Landing Right Permission	28
FM Radio Licenses	129
Cable TV Distribution	2 346

Table 1 - Number of licenses issued by PEMRA (2002-2008)

The print media did not experience the same boom as the electronic media from 2002 and onwards. First of all the private sector print media was already present when Musharraf came to power. Second of all, Musharraf's liberalisation efforts were mainly directed towards the electronic media. The third and possibly the most crucial factor is the literacy rate. Even though the adult literacy rate in

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<sup>7</sup> Iqbal, Z. (2012). MEDIA AND MUSHARRAF: A MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE. European Scientific Journal, 8(3).

<sup>8</sup> Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority. (2010). PEMRA Annual Report 2009.



Pakistan had risen in the past decade, it only stood at 54.9 % in 2012.<sup>9 10</sup> With such high illiteracy rates, it is very difficult for the print media to expand.

The main motivational factor for any private business is to make profit. As the electronic media boomed in Pakistan, so did the advertising revenues. In 2004 the revenues for media advertisement was almost 10 billion rupees (*NOK 600 million*), while the same figure for 2008 was almost 27 billion rupees (*NOK 1 900 million*). Table 2 below shows the breakdown of the revenue figures<sup>11</sup>:

Revenues for media advertisement (billion rupees)		
	2004	2008
Print media	4,1	8,16
Television	4,5	14,8
Outdoor media	1,1	8,16
Radio	0,2	1,08
<b>Sum</b>	<b>9,9</b>	<b>32,2</b>

Table 2 - Revenues for media advertisement (billion rupees)

I have not been able to find information related to probability of Pakistani newspapers. However, if one looks at the breakdown of revenue figures, print media and television were roughly making the same amount in media advertisement revenues in 2004. In 2008 television channels were earning twice as much as print media. Even though the figures do not say anything related to probability, it is clear that television was taking a greater share of the revenues. This in turn might have caused financial difficulties for the print media. Whether financial difficulties result in better or worse journalism is difficult to say. However, there are indications that print media in Pakistan in the wake of media liberation was being paced out by television. In such situation, it is difficult to

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<sup>9</sup> UNICEF. (2013). Statistics. Retrieved from [http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/pakistan\\_pakistan\\_statistics.html](http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/pakistan_pakistan_statistics.html)

<sup>10</sup> UNESCO. (2003). Literacy Trends in Pakistan. Islamabad.

<sup>11</sup> Iqbal, Z. (2012). MEDIA AND MUSHARRAF: A MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE. European Scientific Journal, 8(3).

recruit or keep good talent. As a result of rise of the Pakistan television industry, many senior journalists went from print media to television. The names included Hamid Mir, Syed Talat Hussain, Kamran Khan and Najam Sethi among many.

### 1.5.1 Media structure of Pakistan at the time

There were five media groups who both published nationwide daily newspapers and operated TV channels in Pakistan (Mezzara, M. and Sial, S., (2010) in 2007. These media groups thereby controlled a large part of the media output in Pakistan at the time. In my analysis I will focus on certain parts of the Pakistani media, mainly the two largest English newspapers published in Pakistan – The News (Jang Group) and Dawn News (Dawn group). Originally I had intended to include a third newspaper, The Nation, which is published by the Nawa-i-Waqt Group. However, it proved very difficult to get access to their archives. I had to exclude The Nation from my analysis.

Print and electronic media outputs	Jang Group	Dawn Group
<b>Dailies (newspapers)</b>	Daily Jang ( <i>Urdu</i> ) The News ( <i>English</i> )	Daily Dawn ( <i>English</i> )
<b>TV channels (news)</b>	Geo News ( <i>Urdu</i> )	Dawn News ( <i>English</i> )

Table 3 - Largest media groups in Pakistan

Amongst the Urdu newspapers, Jang is the largest newspaper in Pakistan, with an estimated daily circulation of 850 000, followed by Nawa-i-Waqt with 500 000. The News is the largest amongst English newspapers with 120 000 papers in circulation. Dawn News is second in the English category with a circulation of 109,000 (Shah, H. 2010).

## 1.6 Research questions

In this thesis I study how certain parts of the Pakistani media covered and reacted to the crises in Pakistan in 2007 and what role the media played in overturning Musharraf from power. Overturning of Musharraf from power is defined at the moment when he had to resign as head of the Pakistan Army. After resigning as head of the army he could no longer count on the loyalty of the armed forces. The main research questions are:

- 1) How did certain parts of the Pakistani media cover and react to the events leading up to Musharraf clinging to power in 2007, and later his downfall from power?*
- 2) What impact did media have on the overturn of the government of Musharraf and his downfall from power?*

In order to answer the first research question, I will put much emphasis on how and why the Pakistani media was liberalised. This topic is devoted substantial space in chapter 5.2.

There are many interesting aspects that make the role of media in downfall of Musharraf an interesting object of study. One such factor is that it was Musharraf himself who allowed liberalisation of the media in the first place. By liberalisation in this context I mean steps by both the government and private stakeholders to increase the number of media channels. The Pakistani Government established a regulatory authority known as the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) in 2002 to promote and regulate the establishment of all privately owned electronic media. Even though the creation of PEMRA concerned the electronic media, it also to a large degree affected the mind-set and actions of the print media.

The democratically elected Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif tried to suppress the print media in Pakistan in 1998 and 1999.<sup>12</sup> This would suggest that the print

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<sup>12</sup> <http://cpj.org/reports/2000/02/pakistan07feb00br.php>

media was fairly independent, even before Musharraf came to power. When Musharraf came to power, there was bigger manoeuvring space for the media to become critical of the government. According to Hijab Shah at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington D.C., during and since Musharraf's time in power, the print and electronic media have been remarkably free to criticise the government.<sup>13</sup> Some of my other sources, such as interview objects have also confirmed that media had more leeway to criticise the government under Musharraf's early days, than previous governments. There might be several reasons for that. As the electronic media became bigger in size, the leeway to be critical of the authorities also became bigger. This also must have affected the print media, who also could take advantage of bigger freedoms for the electronic media. With a large electronic media, the print-media may have been able to walk in the footsteps of the electronic media. Thereby the collective impact of the media in the Pakistani's society became greater. In addition, often the same media groups controlled both the largest TV-channels and newspapers. Accordingly one could expect the actions of the electronic and print media to be interlinked or correlated. I will be analysing the liberalisation of the electronic media because the liberalisation of the electronic media may have given the print-media more freedoms.

## 1.7 Scope and limitations

The aim of the study is to assess the interaction between the media and Musharraf during the political crisis of 2007 and what role the media played in overturning Musharraf from power. At the same time, one has to have in mind that during the political crisis there were many stakeholders, both domestic and foreign. Pakistan, having the role it had in the war on terror, and at the same time being a nuclear power, could not afford a large scale bloody standoff between the government and protesters. There was much backchannel diplomacy and

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<sup>13</sup> Shah, H. (2010). The Inside Pages: An Analysis of the Pakistani Press. [www.csis.org](http://www.csis.org). Retrieved from [http://csis.org/files/publication/sam\\_148.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/sam_148.pdf)

horse trading going on, that still to this day has still not seen the light of day. The study will primarily focus on what is publicly available regarding Musharraf's and media's actions and analyse these through the chosen methods.

One possible limitation of the study is that it only looks at the role of the media in the crises of 2007. Ideally, one could have compared the role of the media in 2007 with that in 1999, when Pakistan last time went through a similar crisis. Even though the documentation is weak, I have not been able to any sources that would suggest that the print media played a significant role in the crisis of 1999, when the government of Nawaz Sharif was overthrown.

## **1.8 Structure**

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter one introduces the topic, gives background about Pakistan, its history, the crisis of 2007, the structure of the media and the research questions.

Chapter two describes the methods that will be used in order to conduct the analysis, while chapter three introduces the theoretical framework for the thesis.

Chapter four describes the history of media policies in Pakistan, as well as political views, roles and positions of the relevant print media that I will be analysing.

Chapter five describes the electronic media revolution in the Pakistan. In chapter six I will describes in detail what the political crisis of 2007 was and how it unfolded.

In chapters seven, I will analyse respectively how the media reacted to the actions of Musharraf and what impact the media had on overturning Musharraf from power. The last chapter, chapter eight, gives the conclusion.

## 2 Methods

### 2.1 Methodology

In this chapter I focus on what kind of academic methods I use in order to find the answers for my research questions. I will discuss my research methods, sources and assess quality of the data through reliability and validity principles. It is important that research is properly planned in order to get the clear result. For this very purpose it is essential to prepare a detailed plan and have a clear mind on how to conduct research.

Methodology is an important part of the research. In research methodology, not only the research methods are talked about and examined, but also the logic behind the methods is considered. In this thesis I want to study how certain parts of the Pakistani print media covered and reacted to the events leading up to Musharraf clinging to power in 2007 and what role the media played in overturning Musharraf from power. My aim is to acquire an in-depth understanding about the topic. I want to analyse a specific historic event by using qualitative research, in particular document analysis and supplement that with in-depth interviews.

#### **Qualitative research**

The qualitative research methods are often employed to answer the why's and how's of human behaviour, opinion, and experience (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013: 1). This information is difficult to obtain through more quantitatively-oriented methods of data collection. Guest, Namey and Mitchell (2013: 1) claim that researchers and practitioners in fields as diverse as anthropology, education, nursing, psychology, sociology, and marketing regularly use qualitative methods to address questions about people's ways of organizing, relating to, and interacting with the world. They further claim that despite the interdisciplinary recognition of the value of "qualitative research", qualitative research is not a unified field of theory and practice. How research in general, and especially

qualitative research, is done will depend on many different factors. According to Guest, Namey and Mitchell (2013: 1) there are right and wrong ways of conducting a qualitative research project, as some methods of collecting and analysing data are qualitatively more trustworthy and produce more valid data than others. A key distinction in this regard is the difference between pure and applied research.

Whereas the purpose of pure research is to better understand fundamental concepts, applied research strives to improve our understanding of a problem, with the intent of contributing to the solution of that problem (Bickman & Rog, 2009). My thesis is most relevant in the context of applied research. According to Guest, Namey and Mitchell (2013: 1) applied research can, and often does, generate new knowledge and contribute to theory, but its primary focus is on collecting and generating data to further our understanding of real-world problems. According to Guest, Namey and Mitchell (2013) a simple and useful definition of qualitative research in the context of applied research is offered by Nkwi, Nyamongo, and Ryan (2001: 1):

*“Qualitative research involves any research that uses data that do not indicate ordinal values.”*

Based on the above definition, qualitative research can be perceived as flexible. According to Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013 flexibility can be built into the research design itself by employing a theoretical sampling strategy in which a researcher adjusts the sampling procedures during the data collection process based on incoming data. This feature will be important in my thesis as the amount and quality of data might be varying due to the conditions in Pakistan.

## **2.2 Document analysis**

Document analysis is a qualitative research method and is a key skill in historical interpretation. Document analysis is a systematic procedure for

reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material (Bowen, 2009). Document analysis, not different from other analytical methods in qualitative research, requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to extract meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; see also Rapley, 2007). According to Bowen (2009) type of documents in qualitative research may include a wide range of documents, everything from minutes of meetings to newspapers clippings and /articles. The analytic procedure entails finding, selecting, appraising (making sense of), and synthesizing data contained in documents. Document analysis yields data—excerpts, quotations, or entire passages—that are then organized into major themes, categories, and case examples specifically through content analysis (Bowen 2009; see also Labuschagne, 2003).

As a research method, document analysis is particularly applicable to qualitative case studies where intensive studies produce rich descriptions of a single phenomenon, event, organization, or program (Bowen, 2009; see also Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994). Documents of all types can help the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem Merriam (1988: 118).

Document analysis is not a mere summary or description of what happened, but rather an analysis of the motivation, intent and purpose of a document within a particular historical context.<sup>14</sup> The key initial questions one needs to consider are:

- What type of document is it?
- Does it have any particularly unique characteristics?
- When was it written?

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<sup>14</sup> National Australian University. (n.d.). Writing a document analysis - Academic Skills & Learning Centre - ANU. [academicskills.anu.edu.au](https://academicskills.anu.edu.au/resources/handouts/writing-document-analysis). Retrieved from <https://academicskills.anu.edu.au/resources/handouts/writing-document-analysis>



- Who was the author and what was his/her position?
- For whom (what audience) was the document written?
- What is the purpose of the document?
- Why was the document written?
- What evidence is there within the document that indicates why it was written?

However credible the document may look, one still needs to look at the document through the method of source criticism, which means critically evaluating the quality of the information on the basis of your needs and independent of medium.<sup>15</sup> Performing source criticism one needs to look at several factors, such as who the author is and whether the work is based on a primary or secondary source. Primary sources means where the author has done the research or the field work themselves. Relying on primary sources related to Pakistan is especially important as there are strong opinions in Pakistan regarding Musharraf's actions. Lack of transparency in the Pakistani society makes it more difficult to verify the credibility of the information, as compared to secondary sources. Further one needs to look at the author's qualifications, whether the author is recognised in the field and whether the author is affiliated with an institution. One also needs to keep in mind where and how the document was published, whether the publisher also is acknowledged. Since I will be analysing a historical event, I also need to consider whether the document was up to date at the time.

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<sup>15</sup> Høgskolen i Oslo og Akershus. (2011). Source criticism - Høgskolen i Østfold - Kunnskap påvirker!. Hiof.no. Retrieved from [http://www.hiof.no/nor/biblioteket/english/the-library/how-to-write-a-paper/\\_source-criticism&PHPSESSID=gn2rspc1n49ln04n8smvln4um5](http://www.hiof.no/nor/biblioteket/english/the-library/how-to-write-a-paper/_source-criticism&PHPSESSID=gn2rspc1n49ln04n8smvln4um5)

### **2.2.1 Print media**

In the analysis I will mainly focus on the two largest English newspapers in Pakistan, namely The News and Dawn News. The newspapers belong to some of the oldest, largest and most powerful media groups in Pakistan, namely Jang Group and Dawn group.

#### **Collection and selection**

Sampling and selecting articles and data from Pakistani print media was a difficult task. I made two trips to Pakistan, one in the summer of 2013 and one in the spring of 2014 to try to get access to the archives. Due to security issues and bad infrastructure it was very difficult to get access to the physical archives of these newspapers. Initially my plan was to analyse three newspapers, namely The Nation belonging to the Nawa-i-Waqt Group in addition to The News and Dawn. I got access to The Nation's physical archives for a limited period, but I did not have time to collect sufficient number of article for both periods. The Internet archive of The Nation did not cover the relevant time periods. I will therefore only analyse The News and Dawn. For The News and Dawn Group I did not get access to the physical archives and had to solely rely on their internet archives. Fortunately, both The News and Dawn News had fairly good internet with all articles from the newspapers in the relevant period.

The news articles and editorials were published in the newspapers and later published on the online archives at [www.thenews.com.pk](http://www.thenews.com.pk) and [www.dawn.com](http://www.dawn.com) where I accessed them. The articles are in English. The audiences for the article are both Pakistani and international readers. Writers of the articles are journalists and editorial staff at The News. Some of the news articles and bulletins were also written by news agencies, such as The Associated Press of Pakistan (APP).

The selection of the news articles in the Internet archives of The News and Dawn News were done on the basis of a practical approach. I chose news article which I considered to have news value related to the first or second crisis based on their

headline and content, as well as editorials related to the topic. The first time period I chose to look at was between 9 March - 20 July 2007, namely the date from the Chief Justice of Pakistan was sacked until he was reinstated by the Supreme Court. The Second time period went from 3 November - 29 November 2007, which is the period from Musharraf declared the national emergency until he had to resign as the head of the Pakistani army. In order to limit the scope of the study, only “political” articles and editorials were included. Business, sports and cultural news articles were not included in the study. Because I had no time constraint in collecting data from the Internet archives of The News and Dawn News, I collected and analysed a substantial number of news articles and editorials related to the first and second crisis. An example of how the news articles were organised for the second crisis are given in appendix 2.

### **Performing the analysis**

There are several ways in which the analysis can be performed. There are two main topics: How did the media react to Musharraf’s actions and what impact did the media have?

The first question is a descriptive one. In order to answer this question I will do a document analysis by first gathering as much data as possible, and thereafter examining and scrutinize the relevant material. How to perform a document analysis is described in section 2.2. However, due to the large number of information and the length of the time periods, I will pick certain qualitative criteria and characteristics which I will use to analyse the articles. The qualitative criteria and characteristics must give relevant information regarding the topic, but at the same be manageable within the scope of this thesis. The qualitative criteria base my analysis on are characteristics of the news articles and editorials such as title, message and angle. By the latter, I mean the angle of the news story or the editorial as well as which parts of the society the newspapers chose to quote. The purpose of the analysis is to identify the message of the article and what kind of stance it had towards Musharraf and his actions. Finding the trends in the two crises is also part of the analysis in order to find

patterns, and perhaps interesting, surprising findings. I will supplement the analysis of the articles with relevant research papers, reports, books, internet sources and interviews. Through this approach I will be able to get a good picture of how the media reacted to the crises in Pakistan in 2007, and thereby answer the first research question. To answer the second research question, I will have to do qualitative assessments of the findings under the first research questions.

## **2.2.2 Research papers, report and books**

### **Collection**

There are limited number of academic works such as research papers and reports written about the relationship between Musharraf and the Pakistani media, as well a limited number of books. Based on the criteria for source criticism described in chapter 2.2 I have tried to collect research academic works that use primary sources, meaning where the author have done the research or the field work themselves. In order to further strengthen the validity and reliability of the academic sources I have put emphasis on finding work that has been published in internationally renowned academic journals or written for or by renowned international organisations.

One report that meets the above criteria and that I have used extensively, especially related to understanding the history of the newspapers, is *Media and Governance in Pakistan* (Mezzera and Sial, 2010). The report has acted as a good source because it is a country case study of Pakistan related to media and governance. The report is written by qualified researchers affiliated with renowned organisations. Marco Mezzera is a research fellow at the Conflict Research Unit (CRU) of the Clingendael Institute of International Relations in Netherlands. Safdar Sial is a research analyst at the Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), Islamabad. The report is written as part of a research project for The Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP), which is a consortium, led by International

Alert and funded by the European Commission. The paper gives a short history of media in Pakistan. It describes current media groups in Pakistan, putting emphasis on two of the media groups I will be looking at. It further describes many aspects of the Pakistani media, such as commercial interests, the regulatory framework, media freedom, liberalisation of media and media's role in major events in Pakistan. The fact that the report is written as part of an international research project strengthens its credibility. The authors have also conducted field work in Pakistan related to the report, and the report is therefore to a large degree based on primary sources.

*Critical analysis of press freedom in Pakistan (2009)* is research article based on primary sources that I have used extensively. It is a research paper written by Syed Abdul Siraj. The paper was published in Journal of Media and Communication Studies Vol. 1(3) in September 2009, which is published by Academic Journals. Siraj has a postdoc from Southern Illinois University Carbondale (USA) and is currently professor/chairman at the department of Mass Communication at the Allama Iqbal Open University in Islamabad, Pakistan.<sup>16</sup> The paper gives a critical analysis of the press freedom in Pakistan. It describes the media sociology in Pakistan, status of the press freedom, current laws and prospects for the media. The author is affiliated with the Allama Iqbal Open University in Islamabad. This is a public university, funded by the government.<sup>17</sup> One therefore needs to be aware of that such environments in Pakistan can be highly politicised, and that due to security reasons academic staff at public universities to some degree would show more caution when it comes to criticising the government.

*Media and Musharraf: A marriage of convenience (2012)* is a research article written by Zafar Iqbal at International Islamic University (IIU) in Islamabad, Pakistan. The article uses both primary and secondary sources and focuses on relationship between the Pakistani media and Musharraf, military's role in

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<sup>16</sup> Higher Education Commission Pakistan. (2014). HEC Control Panel. Sc.hec.gov.pk. Retrieved from <http://sc.hec.gov.pk/aphds/submit.asp?supid=2759>

<sup>17</sup> Allama Iqbal Open University. (n.d.). Brief History. Aiou.edu.pk. Retrieved from <http://www.aiou.edu.pk/BriefHistory.asp>

Pakistani politics. The article has two case studies related to upheavals in the Musharraf period. The paper also looks at media and economy as well as the electronic media boom. Iqbal is associate professor at IIU. He has a postdoc from University of Surrey, UK in mass communication and specializes on media effects, media construction and public opinion research. The article was published in European Scientific Journal February 2012 edition vol. 8, No.3. IIU is also a public university, funded by the government.

*Virtual protest with tangible effects? Some observations on the media strategies of the 2007 Pakistani anti-Emergency movement (2010)* is a research article written by Marta Bolognani, who is a Research Associate at Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship, Bristol University, UK. The article was published in Contemporary South Asia, Vol. 18, No. 4, in December 2010. According to Bolognani the paper analyses the interrelation between the political concerns of a specific (upper-middle class) class subculture, the extraordinary means of communication available to them and the development of the protest. According to the article Bolognani was an assistant professor at Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) at the time of the second crisis, and was there able to act as a primary source for her article and conduct field work as well.

*Media in Pakistan (2009)* is a report prepared for and by International Media Support (IMS). IMS is a non-profit organization based in Copenhagen, Denmark, working to support local media in countries affected by armed conflict, human insecurity and political transition.<sup>18</sup> The report Media in Pakistan (2009) gives background on Pakistan, description of the media landscape, challenges in Pakistan and recommendations relating to how media freedom in Pakistan can be strengthened. Relating to source criticism, on the strong side is written by IMS which is a non-profit organisation working to support local media in countries affected by armed conflict, human insecurity and political transition. The report has a However, on the weak side, the report does not provide name of the authors, which makes it difficult to assess credibility of the authors.

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<sup>18</sup> International Media Support. (n.d.). About us - International Media Support (IMS). International Media Support (IMS). Retrieved from <http://www.i-m-s.dk/about/>

## **Performing the analysis**

Research articles, reports and books have been used as sources in order to get historical information, background and understanding of the Pakistani media, Musharraf and their relationship. These sources have been used to supplement the analysis of the print media, internet sources and interviews in order to have a wider base for the analysis and perhaps refine the analysis.

### **2.2.3 Internet sources**

#### **Collection**

Internet as a source has been used in the case where I have not been able to find relevant information in my other sources, such as research papers, reports and books and interviews. The newspaper articles I have used are in principle also internet sources, as the articles have been retrieved from the internet archives of the newspapers. However, even though the article cannot be seen as internet source as they were printed in the newspapers and made available on the internet later.

I made two trips to Pakistan in order to collect relevant data first hand. However, as described in this thesis, collecting data in Pakistan is not an easy task. Security reasons and little transparency make it difficult to collect reliable data. I therefore also relied on Internet Sources. In collecting Internet sources, it is important to have source criticism in mind. I have therefore taken several precautionary steps to insure the quality of Internet sources. First of all I have strived to use Internet sources of renowned institutions and organizations. Further I have tried to choose Internet sources that have information about the author of the site and cross-checked information about the author. In addition I have tried to assess whether the information in the Internet sources seems accurate and objective.

## Performing the analysis

Internet sources have been used as in order to get historical information, background and understanding of the Pakistani media, Musharraf and their relationship. These sources have been used to supplement the analysis of the print media, research papers, reports, books and interviews in order to have a wider base for the analysis

## 2.3 Interviews

The qualitative research interview attempts to understand the world for the subjects' point of view, to unfold the meaning of their experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Interviews will be an important part of my research as they will supplement the document analysis. My interviews will be topical interviews, where I am interested in obtaining the facts and sequence of an event. I am interested in a reconstruction of the experience and what happened during the crisis in 2007 and 2008 and I actively direct questions in pursuit of precise facts. In order to compare the responses I developed a set of questions that I asked all interview objects. The questions are attached as appendix 1. The interviews were done one-to-one, and I took both notes and recorder the interviews.

The questions are open-ended in order to obtain as much information as possible from the interview object. At the same time the questions are to some degree leading. According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) *“The questions most likely to be asked about interview quality concerns leading questions.”* They further state that *“Although the wording of a question can inadvertently shape the content of an answer, it is often overlooked that deliberately leading questions are necessary parts of the many questioning procedures ... In contrast to common opinion, the qualitative research interview is particularly well suited for employing leading questions to repeatedly check the reliability of the interviewees' answers, as well as to verify interviewer's interpretations.”*



## **Collection**

My interview objects are Pakistani journalists and people related to media, based in Pakistan. As with the collection of documents, obtaining interviews from relevant people related to the Pakistan media was very difficult. In both my trips I tried to get access to people with first-hand knowledge about the topic of my thesis. I tried to contact the administrations of The News and Dawn News, as well as The Nation. I was unfortunately not able to access to any journalists from these newspapers. After that I widened my search and tried to contact other parts of the media in the relevant media groups. This gave me limited success and I was able to interview Hafiz Tariq Mahmood, Director of News at the TV news channel Waqt News. Waqt News is part of the same media group as The Nation, namely Nawa-i-Waqt.

In parallel with obtaining interviews from journalists, I also tried to interview scholars. I was able to get hold of Mohammed Akram Soomro, who currently is an assistant professor at Institute of Communication Studies at University of the Punjab. University of the Punjab is ranked as the top large university in Pakistan by the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan (HEC).<sup>19</sup> In order to obtain my second interview with a scholar I turned to the other top university in the city of Lahore, Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS). LUMS was categorized by HEC as the top Pakistani university in the field of business administration, but also has a large Department of Humanities and Social Sciences. I was able to get an interview with Sehar Sarah Sikander Shah, who is a teaching fellow at The Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at LUMS.

## **Performing the analysis**

Interviews have been used as sources in order to get understanding of what happened between Musharraf and the media in 2007 and why it happened.

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<sup>19</sup> Higher Education Commission Pakistan,. (2012). Quality and Research based Ranking of Pakistani HEIs. Hec.gov.pk. Retrieved from <http://www.hec.gov.pk/InsideHEC/Divisions/QALI/Others/RankingofUniversities/Pages/CategoryWise.aspx>

Interviews will supplement the analysis of the print media, research articles, reports, books and internet sources in order to have a wider base for the analysis.

I have no reason to believe that the interview objects would provide me with false or inaccurate information. However, it will be important to be critical to the interviews, as their own personal opinion of what happened in 2007 might influence the answers. In my personal opinion, many Pakistani's have strong opinions about Musharraf, and people often have a love or hate relationship to the man.

Hafiz Tariq Mahmood is a senior journalist with substantial experience. He experienced what happened in Pakistan first-hand through his professional carrier and will therefore have good knowledge about the crises. I would expect that Mahmood, being the Director of News at one of the major TV-channels in Pakistan, which also is part of one of the largest media groups in Pakistan, will be cautious in his approach.

University of the Punjab is a government university, but still maintains its professional independence. Akram Soomro is assistant professor at Institute of Communication studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan. He has extensive experience related to research on Pakistani media. I would expect him to be open and frank about his opinions of Musharraf and media. Sarah Sehar Sikander Shah is a teaching fellow at a private university. She does not have the same experience as Akram Soomro, and I would therefore expect her to be more cautious in providing her opinions about what happened in Pakistan in 2007 and 2008.

In the analysis, especially in chapter 7.2 I will compare the statements my interview objects with the findings related to the media's coverage of the crises. Through this I will be able to discuss the interview's relevance and validity.

## 2.4 Quality of the data and sources

According to Kvale and Brinkman (2009) *“The trustworthiness, the strength, and the transferability of knowledge are in the social sciences commonly discussed in relation to the concepts of reliability, validity, and generalization.”*

As mentioned earlier due to lack of good governance and corruption there is little transparency and verifiability when it comes to anything relating to Pakistan, and this also is true for the Pakistan media. However, sources such as research article and reports, having been assessed through source criticism, have contributed in giving accurate and trustworthy information about the Pakistani media. The research papers and reports should therefore nuance the picture. Still, to complicate the picture even more, the crisis of 2007 had many stakeholders, everyone from Musharraf’s political opponents, supporters, the judiciary, and the military and even foreign powers due to Pakistan’s role in the war on terror. Due to this there were many feelings in play when the crisis unfolded. This together with allegations that the Pakistan media can be “bought” or can be one sided makes it hugely important to be critical to the quality of the data when it comes to Pakistan. In the so called “secret fund case” the Supreme Court of Pakistan investigated and released statements from the Pakistani Ministry of Information which showed that 282 journalists in Pakistan received payments and gifts worth 177 million rupees (around 10 million NOK) between 1 July 2011 and 6 September 2012 from a secret government fund.<sup>20</sup> Even though the list shows that some of the payments may have been legitimate, such as airline tickets for travel, others items are more suspicious, such as unspecified “financial assistance”, dinners, gifts and entertainment. The case does not prove corruption in the Pakistan media, but it gives strong circumstantial evidence that influence in the Pakistan media is for sale.

When it comes to Internet as a source, one always has to be cautious. Due to limited number of other sources, Internet as a source is a necessity in my thesis. My experience is that in general and especially connected to the topic of my

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<sup>20</sup> Supreme Court of Pakistan. (n.d.). Details of expenditure. Islamabad.

thesis, there substantial amount of information on the Internet cannot be trusted. It is therefore important to careful and critical when it comes to choosing and using Internet sources, as described in chapter 2.2.3.

Due to lack of electronic infrastructure and difficulty in obtaining data as well as getting in touch with access to important people, it will not be possible to perform an analysis that is as wide-ranging as I initially hoped for. Still, data access seems to be acceptable due the importance this topic was given in the Pakistani media during the crisis.

# 3 Theoretical Perspective

## 3.1 Freedom of Expression

According to Zeno-Zencovich (2008), “Freedom of expression is a political freedom, which is granted to men and women who live together and want to communicate with one another. It has no sense for the hermit or a person shipwrecked on a desert island. Just as any other freedom, it must be limited in order to enable others to exercise it and to enable the exercise of other freedoms (to circulate, to meet, to work, to live one’s own private life.”<sup>21</sup>

In my view, the ability to think critically and question prevailing thoughts is one of the most important characteristics of a free human being. If you take away from a human being the right and opportunity to question and think critically, you essentially take almost everything away from that person. Freedom of expression is the opportunity and ability to think freely and critically and express your thoughts without the fear of threats and intimidation.

According to Kierulf (2009) *“The liberal right of free speech cannot be sustained solely through a system that secures state non-interference. The nation-state is needed to ensure the infrastructure necessary to enable free speech – both for individuals and in the mass media.”*<sup>22</sup>

According to Dr. Mehdi Hasan, renowned intellectual, *“Freedom of speech is the liberty to express views without fear of punishment and government restraint.”* Freedom of speech is firmly embedded in some of the largest democracies in the world. The first amendment US constitution says that *“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the*

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<sup>21</sup> Zeno-Zencovich, V. (2008). Freedom of expression (1st ed.). Abingdon, Oxon [England]: Routledge-Cavendish.

<sup>22</sup> Kierulf, A., & Rønning, H. (2009). Freedom of speech abridged? (1st ed.). Gothenburg, Sweden: Nordicom.

*people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.”*<sup>23</sup>

## 3.2 Freedom of the press in the Pakistani Constitution

The Pakistani society has never been in the forefront when it comes to freedom of the press. The Pakistani media have for years practiced self-censorship when it comes to sensitive topics. One can point at many reasons for the situation being as it is. Military dictatorships, religious extremism, corruption and a bad situation for law and order have all contributed to freedom of press and freedom of expression being suppressed. But what does the law say? Article 19 of part two of the Constitution of Pakistan states that:<sup>24</sup>

*“Every citizen shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, and there shall be freedom of the press, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the glory of Islam or the integrity, security or defence of Pakistan or any part thereof, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, or incitement to an offence.”*

The limitations in the Pakistani constitution on the freedom of speech and expression as well as freedom of the press are very obvious. The restrictions ranging from defence of the country, foreign relations to morality means that the restrictions can in principle stop any kind of criticism of the state or the government. However, these kinds of restrictions are not only found in the Pakistani Constitution. As Ali (2012, p.77) stated in her book that, *“In other countries of the world, too, there are various restrictions on freedom of expression*

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<sup>23</sup> Ali, Y. (2012). A comparative analysis of media & media laws in Pakistan (1st ed.). Lahore: Sang-e-meel Publications.

<sup>24</sup> National Assembly of Pakistan. (2010). The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

*and speech. It is not absolute anywhere in the world*". Many, if not all countries have some kind of restrictions regarding freedom of speech and freedom of the press. The nature of restrictions and the way these restrictions are practiced among them vary a lot. However, contrary to the wide-ranging limitations in the Pakistani constitution, limitations in other countries are often to protect individuals from defamation, stop hateful and harmful expressions and to stop incitement of violence.

It is not easy to find a country that easily can be compared with Pakistan, due to Pakistan's volatile and short history. India gained independence at the same time as Pakistan. India is the largest democracy in the world, and has never has experienced a military coup. Still India has limitations related to the sovereignty and integrity of India, the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence.

If we look at other Muslim countries or countries with a Muslim majority we find some similar restrictions related to the freedom of speech and press as in Pakistan. As with Pakistan, the Constitution of Malaysia gives every citizen the right of freedom of speech and expression, but limits this when it comes to *"security of the Federation or any part thereof, friendly relations with other countries, public order or morality and restrictions designed to protect the privileges of Parliament or of any Legislative Assembly or to provide against contempt of court, defamation, or incitement to any offence."*<sup>25</sup>

If we look at Malaysia's neighbour, Indonesia, the Constitution the same type of restrictions does not apply. Article 28E of the Indonesian Constitution states that *"Every person shall have the right to the freedom to believe his/her faith, and to express his/her views and thoughts, in accordance with his/her conscience. (3)*

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<sup>25</sup>Constitution of Malaysia. (n.d.) (1st ed.). Retrieved from <http://confinder.richmond.edu/admin/docs/malaysia.pdf>

*Every person shall have the right to the freedom to associate, to assemble and to express opinions.”<sup>26</sup>*

The Turkish Constitution gives every everyone the right to express their thoughts and opinion by speech, but limits that when it comes to “*protecting national security, public order and public safety, the basic characteristics of the Republic and safeguarding the indivisible integrity of the State with its territory and nation, preventing crime, punishing offenders, withholding information duly classified as a state secret, protecting the reputation and rights and private and family life of others, or protecting professional secrets as prescribed by law, or ensuring the proper functioning of the judiciary.*”<sup>27</sup>

One must be a legal expert in order to analyse whether different wordings in different countries constitutions give individuals and the press higher or lower threshold for freedom of expression. If we look at the religious aspect, Indonesia and Turkey have been the victims of religiously motivated terrorism in the past, yet they do not mention Islam in their Constitutions. A country that has been spared of large religiously motivated attacks, Malaysia, mentions Islam in their Constitution. Even though there might be historical reasons for why the Constitution is shaped the way it is, it is almost but certain that many other factors than how freedom of expression is governed in law are important when it comes to the level of tolerance for freedom of expression in a country. By comparing the Pakistani Constitution with that of some relevant countries, it is clear that the Pakistani Constitution does not deviate significantly from these relevant countries. The Constitution, at least on paper, should therefore not be an obstacle to promote freedom of expression.

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<sup>26</sup> Humanrights.asia. (n.d.). Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945. Retrieved from [http://www.humanrights.asia/countries/indonesia/countries/indonesia/laws/uud1945\\_en](http://www.humanrights.asia/countries/indonesia/countries/indonesia/laws/uud1945_en)

<sup>27</sup> Constitution.org. (n.d.). Constitution of Turkey. Retrieved from [http://www.constitution.org/cons/turkey/turk\\_cons.htm](http://www.constitution.org/cons/turkey/turk_cons.htm)



### 3.3 Freedom of the Press and Freedom of expression in the Pakistani society

There has been little room for open intellectual debates in the Pakistani society when it comes to freedom of press, and thus no room for challenging the prevailing collective mind-set that sometimes has been imposed on the majority when it comes to important issues. Herbert Marcuse also describes this issue when he in his essay *Repressive Tolerance* wrote, “*lack of censorship does not guarantee that freedom will be exercised in any worthwhile way. In a society where the general population has been indoctrinated and manipulated by those who control the media, free speech may simply serve the interests of the powerful and be as effective as repressive censorship in a totalitarian society*”.

There are few arenas for intellectual debates related to freedom of the press and freedom of expression in Pakistan. According to Warburton (2009) such arenas are highly important, and he describes that “*in a climate where people do not feel able to express their views, or are actively prevented from doing so, it may not be possible simply to internalize the illicit view. Many of us don’t know precisely what we think until we try to express ourselves to an audience or at least a potential audience and many thinkers develop their ideas by interacting with others who agree or disagree with what they think.*”<sup>28</sup>

### 3.4 Media and democracy

According to Charles Ess (2013)<sup>29</sup>, there are mainly three arguments for freedom of expression:

- i. The classic enlightenment rationalism and principle of truth
- ii. The principle of democracy

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<sup>28</sup> Warburton, N. (2009). *Free speech* (1st ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>29</sup> Class note from JOUR4330, University of Oslo, Spring 2013

iii. The principle of autonomy.

None of these three main arguments for freedom of expression have gained a foothold in Pakistan. The classic enlightenment argument has failed because the culture for critical dialogue and debate has not developed. Some few powerful stakeholders define what the truth is, and often use their power to suppress critical thoughts. The principle of democracy has failed because many stakeholders do not want democracy to succeed. If democracy succeeds, many stakeholders will have to give up their privileges and source of income and power, which is corruption. Politicians use private money to finance political campaigns and after that use their positions to earn money. This is a never-ending bad cycle that is self-enforcing. According to Warburton (2009, pp. 3):

*“Free speech is of particular value in a democratic society. This is due to the fact that in a democracy voters have an interest in hearing and contesting a wide range of opinions and in having access to facts and interpretations.”*<sup>30</sup>

A strong democratic culture has never been allowed to be developed in Pakistan, and thereby the value of free speech is limited. For the same reasons as above the principle of autonomy has not either been developed or gained foothold. Those who have dared to take up the challenge have been threatened or killed.

In my view freedom of expression is in itself important, but even more so important to combat forces that want to limit this right for others. Freedom of expression is sometimes more threatening because freedom of expression releases the power and potential of every individual.

As Ronald Dworkin has pointed out:

*“Free speech is a condition of legitimate government. Laws and policies are not legitimate unless they have been adopted through a democratic process, and a*

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<sup>30</sup> Warburton, N. (2009). Free speech (1st ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

*process is not democratic if government has prevented anyone from expressing his convictions about what those laws and policies should be.*<sup>31</sup>

The Pakistani Constitution guarantees some basic principles related to freedom of expression and freedom of the media. However, the constitution and democratic governance in Pakistan was repeatedly set out of play by military coups and the country was under military dictatorship for more than half its existence. The limited and amputated development of democracy had led to slow development of freedom of expression and media freedom in Pakistan. However, for the first time in the history of Pakistan, the media in Pakistan has taken a power military government head on and won. This, together with further development of the democracy, may finally bring about the freedom of expression and media freedom that most Pakistani's want. The importance of freedom of expression is so important that I think the state should ensure that every human being have the right to express whatever they want to.

According to Ali, Y. (2012, p.80), like many other countries in the world, Pakistan too places certain restrictions on freedom of expression and on the freedom of the press for the greater good of the country. She further states that a mature nation is a nation that does not belittle and humiliate the constitution, but respects and follows it. Maturity when it comes to freedom of expression can easily be defines by using Warburton, N. (2009, p.1), who claims that freedom of speech is worth defending vigorously even when you hate what is being spoken. Commitment to free speech involves protecting the speech that you don't want to hear as well as the speech that you do. This principle is at the heart of the democracy, a basic human right, and its protection is a mark civilized and tolerant society.

According to Ali, Y. (2012) the character of any nation is judged by its understanding and willingness to follow the laws of the land. It would not be an overstatement to say that, even though the law prevailed in 2007 and Musharraf

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<sup>31</sup> Dworkin, R. (2006). The Right to Ridicule. Nybooks.com. Retrieved from <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2006/mar/23/the-right-to-ridicule/>

was overthrown, Pakistan still has a long way to go in order to become a mature nation when it comes to freedom of expression and freedom of express.

## **4 History - media policies and print media's political views, roles and positions**

### **4.1 Print media – political views, roles and positions**

In this section I try to describe the relevant media group's history, positions, roles and trustworthiness. As described in chapter 2, the report *Media and Governance in Pakistan: A controversial yet essential relationship* by Marco Mezzera and Safdar Sial (October 2010) provides good background information about Pakistani newspapers I will be analysing. I have therefore used the report extensively in the description in this chapter.

#### **4.1.1 Jang Group**

According to Jang Group, Jang was first published from the capital of British India, New Delhi, on 1942. The word Jang itself means “war” in Urdu. According to Shoeb (2008) it began as newssheet reporting on the latest developments of World War II. After the partition of the subcontinent in 1947, the paper's founder Mir Khaliur Rahman moved to Karachi. According to Mezzera and Sial (2010) it is currently the largest media group in the country, comprising a range of Urdu and English publications and four TV channels. The Group's flagship publication is the Urdu-language newspaper *Daily Jang*, which is printed from six stations across the country. The group also publishes the second largest English newspaper *The News*, which I will be analysing.

The group is reputed to have “*a moderate conservative perspective*” according to Mezzera and Sial (2010). Further they claim that its English publications tend to be more critical of current political affairs and players, while the Urdu publications are milder in their approach. Until the early 1950s Daily Jang was considered an independent newspaper, but since then it has gradually succumbed to political pressures and temptations. Leading journalist and author Zahid Hussain positions the Jang Group at right of centre, whereas leading professor of journalism Dr Mehdi Hasan argues that it does not have any specific policy objective in the long term, according to Mezzera and Sial (2010).

Mezzera and Sial (2010) claim that lately, the group has become entangled in an acrimonious battle with the government. The Jang Group is said to be very close to the lawyers’ movement against Musharraf in 2007.

#### **4.1.2 Dawn Group**

Pakistan’s founding father, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, started Dawn in 1941 as a paper to support his efforts in the creation of Pakistan.<sup>32</sup> According to Mezzera and Sial (2010), its flagship publication, The Daily Dawn, was first published in 1947 from an already independent Pakistan. From there it expanded into a series of publications, all of which use English exclusively. They further claim that the group has also been one of the first media houses in Pakistan to venture into electronic media, including cable TV and the internet. The TV channel Dawn News was established in 2007 and, like their main newspaper, is regularly followed by representatives of the international community and by “*policy and decision-makers in the public and private sectors*”.

The Dawn publications are probably those that have tried to interpret and follow more consistently the original vision of the man who is considered the founding father of the nation. Their main trademark is a secular and tolerant approach in

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<sup>32</sup> Shoeb, N. (2008). An analysis of Urdu and English editorial coverage of the 2007 emergency from Pakistani newspapers (Master of Arts). Georgetown University.

Pakistan's society. Because of this broadly perceived approach, the group enjoys widespread respect as a credible, independent and neutral player (Mezzera and Sial, 2010).

Dawn has an elitist readership and character and is not read by the common people (Akhtar, 2000: xviii). According to Shoeb (2008) in the years after independence, the Pakistan Government often overlooked Dawn's editorials because of its relatively low circulation (as compared to Urdu newspapers). This allowed the paper to be somewhat more critical of the government. In the past two decades, however, successive governments under different rulers (specifically, President-General Pervez Musharraf and former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto) took more notice of Dawn's harsh editorials and even blocked government advertisements.

## 4.2 The first military rule

The attempts to formalize the control of the media were done by Pakistan's first military dictator, General Ayub Khan. He introduced the Press and Publication Ordinance (PPO) in 1960, which later was amended several times.<sup>33</sup> According to I.A. Rehman, a leading Pakistani human rights activist, the Press and Publication Ordinance of 1960 contained many harsh provisions. Authorities could for instance prohibit the publication of any material, require a publisher print material supplied by the government, impose pre-censorship, close down publications and even force a journalist to disclose his confidential sources. It also empowered the government to detain people including journalists.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> The Press and Publications Ordinance, 1960: (ordinance No. XV of 1960) as Modified Up to the 31st December, 1966. (1966).

<sup>34</sup> Rehman, I. (n.d.). Freedom of expression in conflict situations: Pakistan, A tradition of information control. Pppusa.org. Retrieved from <http://www.pppusa.org/Human%20Rights/Article-10.htm>

## 4.3 Transition to a civilian government

The current Pakistan Constitution came into effect in 1971. The relationship between the Constitution and freedom of expression and freedom of the press is described and discussed in chapter 3.

The 1971 Constitution also marked transition to civilian government. Zulifqar Ali Bhutto took over as civilian administrator from the military in 1971 until he was overthrown by General Zia-ul-Haq in 1977. According to Kiran Omar at the South Asia Center in Montreal, Canada, *“Bhutto – who started his rule as a civilian administrator — began his term by trying to reach out to the journalist community and appeared to ease some restrictions that were in effect. However, his feudal instincts took over and he too tightened the noose and used his policy of nationalization to takeover many independent news agencies and presses.”*<sup>35</sup> After 13 years of military rule, transition to a civilian government was still no good for the freedom of press in Pakistan.

## 4.4 The second military rule

The Constitution of 1971 was sidelined by the next military dictator of Pakistan, General Zia-ul-Haq, who came to power in 1977. Under his rule the grip around the media was tightened. In order to promote Haq’s conservative religious views several amendments were made to the PPO in 1980 and introduced the Revised PPO (RPPO). Even before that the military government of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq imposed pre-censorship on the press on October 17, 1979 (Zafar Iqbal and Ghumal Shabir, 2010).<sup>36</sup> According to them *“The pre-censorship was replaced*

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<sup>35</sup> Omar, K. (n.d.). FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN PAKISTAN – RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. Insaftbulletin.net. Retrieved from <http://www.insaftbulletin.net/archives/324>

<sup>36</sup> Iqbal, Z., & Shabir, G. (2010). Press-Government Relations in Structural-Functionalist Perspective: A Case of Pakistan under General Zia (from 1977 to 1988). Pakistan Journal Of Social Sciences (PJSS), 30(1).



*with self-censorship on January 11, 1982 when the government felt itself strong to hold on the political affairs and found an evident mass support to its agenda. [...] However, Zamir Niazi termed it as ‘the pen was unchained while the hand that wielded it was cuffed’ (Dawn, July 29, 1997).”*

According to several sources the 11 years of Zia-ul-Haq’s rule were by far the worst period for press freedom in Pakistan. According to Nazir Hussain “*the media and journalists [were] met with the worst kind of treatment: torture, detention, public lashes and the closure of various media outlets.*”<sup>37 38</sup>

## 4.5 Transition to a civilian government - again

Following the death of Haq in 1988 and the return of democracy, limitations on the press were revised and the toughest and most strict parts were removed. A new ordinance, Registration of Printing Presses and Publications Ordinance, came into effect. The most significant change made in the press law of 1988 was the removal of power from the government and the right of an applicant to be heard in person by the authority before any punitive action was taken, like the closure of a press. Appeals were also now allowed. In addition, newspapers were no longer obligated to publish in full the press notes issued by the government.<sup>39</sup>

As described in chapter 1.6 the transition to a civilian government for the second did not either prove lucky for the press. The government of Nawaz Sharif tried to crack down on part of the media which was critical or vocal towards the government.

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<sup>37</sup> Hussain, N. (2011). Reassessing the Role of the Media in Pakistan. Ifri.org. Retrieved from [http://ifri.org/index.php?page=contribution-detail&id=6427&id\\_provenance=97](http://ifri.org/index.php?page=contribution-detail&id=6427&id_provenance=97)

<sup>38</sup> Press Freedom Day Zia regime worst for journalists. (2011). Retrieved from <http://www.dawn.com/news/625951/press-freedom-day-zia-regime-worst-for-journalists>

<sup>39</sup> Press Reference,. (n.d.). Pakistan Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers - television, circulation, stations, papers, number, print, freedom. Pressreference.com. Retrieved from <http://www.pressreference.com/No-Sa/Pakistan.html>

## 4.6 The third military rule

Musharraf came to power in 1999. Within three years of coming to power, Musharraf had laid down the legal framework for liberalisation of the media. The liberalisation of the Pakistani electronic media was formally done by creating the *Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Ordinance*, which came into effect in 2002. An authority, The *Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA)* was created, to<sup>40</sup>:

- i. improve the standards of information, education and entertainment;
- ii. enlarge the choice available to the people of Pakistan in the media for news, current affairs, religious knowledge, art, culture, science, technology, economic development, social sector concerns, music, sports, drama and other subjects of public and national interest;
- iii. facilitate the devolution of responsibility and power to the grass-roots by improving the access of the people to mass media at the local and community level; and
- iv. ensure accountability, transparency and good governance by optimizing the free flow of information;

Historically there are few parallels to military dictators giving more freedom to the press and encouraging more media outlets. According to Mahmood (interview, July 2013) this may seem odd because we normally compare dictatorships from the 70's and 80's, such as Saddam Hussain. The last dictator in Pakistan before Musharraf was General Zia-ul-Haq, and he had extraordinary right wing views which he promoted and he suppressed the media. Compared to that, Musharraf talked about enlightenment and modernization.

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<sup>40</sup> Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority. (n.d.). Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Ordinance.

# 5 The electronic media revolution and the liberalisation of the media

## 5.1 State of the Pakistani media in and before 1999

Before Musharraf came to power, there was only one national television channel broadcasting from Pakistan, Pakistan Television (PTV). PTV was government owned. PTV showed news bulletin at 9 pm. That was half an hour of news from an entire day and was concluded with a weather report. Before Musharraf's time, media that tried to criticize the government were subdued, in one form or another. Most of the print media practiced self-censorship, especially related to sensitive topics such as the military, and there were only handful of truly independent column writers and opinion makers in the newspapers according to Shah, S. (interview, February 2014). This claim is also supported by Mahmood (interview, July 2013). In many regards, the situation for the Pakistani media had not changed significantly from earlier decades.

When Musharraf came to power in 1999, there was no concept of electronic media according to Mahmood (interview, July 2013). During the 1980's and 1990's the Pakistani people depended on international media for neutral news. Due to Pakistan's affiliation with Great Britain as a colonial power, BBC was popular in Pakistan. According to Mahmood (interview, July 2013) if there were any incident, the Pakistani people relied on international media, rather than Pakistan media for information.

In order to further look at the state of the media in and before 1999 one has to see the status of the media in context and relationship with the Pakistani society at the time. There is no doubt that in terms of democracy, government structure and social, political and economic factors Pakistan has had special circumstances. Pakistan did not experience true democracy between 1947 and 1999. The democratically elected governments were corrupt, ineffective or authoritarian, or

a combination of all. The media was either controlled or practised self-censorship, and the parts of the media that tried to raise their voice against the government were threatened. The newspapers were present, but saw upon the idea of freedom of speech as an advisory role towards the government (Soomro, interview, February 2014). Whatever the power the print media enjoyed to a large degree was also limited because of the high illiterate rate of the population, as well the high rate of poverty. This would suggest that the print media had limited power, and that the print media was able to influence a limited number of the population.

Even though Pakistani's were familiar with the concept of international media through the 80's and 90's, by the end of the 90's this international exposure was becoming ever more evident, especially through satellite television and Internet.

## **5.2 Liberalisation of the Pakistani media**

Musharraf's rise to power in the late 1990's and early 2000's coincided with the rise of the electronic media. Satellite dishes were making their way onto the roof tops of Pakistani homes everywhere in order to receive foreign TV-channels. Internet had also slowly started to make its way into Pakistani homes. At the time, Pakistan had a population of 160 million. A substantial part of the population lived in urban areas. With such a large viewership potential, combined with rapid technological changes, an electronic media boom was possibly inevitable.

However there are several theories to why Musharraf actively promoted the liberalisation of the media and why he did it so quickly. In the sources I have used and the material I have come across, especially the interviews, the theories of why Musharraf liberalised the media can in principle be divided in two. The first one being social factors and Musharraf's personal views, while the second one being technological and economic factors. Desires or personal preferences of

strong leaders, as well as technological advances are often the strongest reasons for large-scale rapid changes in a society. Other factors that may have the same effect might be rivalry or wars between countries. Even though Pakistan has an arch rival in the form of the neighbour India, this was not an important factor in my mind. One of the greatest human achievements of the last century, landing a man on the moon and returning him safely back to earth, incorporated all these elements. It was the desires of a strong leader (Kennedy) together with technological advances (rocket science) reinforced by the rivalry with Soviet Union which led to Neil Armstrong landing on the moon less than 25 years after the first human being broke the sound barrier.

### **5.2.1 Social factors and Musharraf's personal views**

All of my interview objects have pointed out Musharraf's personality and social factors as a key explanation to why the Pakistani media was liberalised. In the early 2000's Musharraf was at the peak of his carrier. He enjoyed the support of the Americans after joining them in the war on terror. He had got rid of most of his opponents, as both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif were in exile abroad. Musharraf portrayed himself as the saviour of Pakistani nation. He was interested in displaying his "cool" side. Musharraf initiated the efforts to liberalise the Pakistani media through the concept of "Roshan Khiyali" which means enlightenment (Shah, S., interview, February 2014). One theory is that Musharraf thought that by liberalising the media, his reach to the Pakistani people would increase (Mahmood, interview, July 2013). By increasing the reach, Musharraf would get the help he needed to promote and propagate his own agenda. As compared with Pakistan's previous leaders, Musharraf was somewhat more open-minded and liberal. It may have been that he wanted to signal to the West, and specially United States, that he was not conservative. Musharraf signalled this through trivial but still significant communication. In several personal interviews and pictures, Musharraf was portrayed as an active man playing sport and posing with his pet dogs. It is not usual to have pets, especially

dogs, in Pakistan. This is due to religious beliefs that dogs are dirty animals. People having pets in Pakistan are seen as liberal, modern and western-oriented. This was perhaps Musharraf's way to show that he was a liberal. Musharraf may have seen himself as a liberal and progressive, and therefore also wanted a media that reflected his views.

If one looks at the social side, Pakistan has for a major part of its history been affected by civil unrest or terrorism and extremism. A free media which is liberal and moderate and which can get the trust of the people would also be able to contribute to dilute the extremism in the society. After the liberalisation of the media, it was not uncommon for terrorist groups to threaten or actually kill journalist. The threats gained momentum especially after the shooting of Malala Yousazai, which galvanised the opinion against the militants in Pakistan.<sup>41 42</sup> For several years, Pakistan has been seen as one of the most dangerous places for journalists in the world.<sup>43</sup>

One of Musharraf's initial projects when he came to power was to develop democracy on a local level (Soomro, interview, February 2014). It is commonly believed that Musharraf wanted more power on the local level in order to weaken any opposition to his government on the central level. According to Yaqoob Khan Bangash (2011) a historian at University of Oxford Musharraf's local government system was a clear move to change the political focus away from the centre in order to reduce the organised opposition against him.<sup>44</sup> Musharraf decentralised (or devoluted) the government structure through the Local Government Ordinance (LGO) in 2001. Elections at the local level were held in 2001 and 2005. However, problems on the local level soon emerged. According to a report by Mezzara, Aftab and Yusuf (2010) "*... devolving functions and power within a*

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<sup>41</sup> BBC. (2012). Girl's shooting questions Pakistan's Taliban policy. BBC News. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-19903608>

<sup>42</sup> BBC,. (2012). Pakistan media condemn attack on teenage activist. BBC News. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-19898774>

<sup>43</sup> Committee to Protect Journalists. (n.d.). Journalists Killed in Pakistan. Cpj.org. Retrieved from <https://cpj.org/killed/asia/pakistan/>

<sup>44</sup> Bangash, Y. (2011). Local government and democracy. Tribune.com.pk. Retrieved from <http://tribune.com.pk/story/207360/local-government-and-democracy/>

*dysfunctional system could easily lead to those same power structures and relations being devolved and reproduces at the local level. The system would then simply replicate itself, albeit within a limited area and in a more fragmented way. By looking closely at what happened in Pakistan since launching of a campaign for political devolution in 2000, it seems that that is precisely what followed on a large scale.*"<sup>45</sup> If Musharraf did not succeed with his local democracy project, opposition at the central level could rise against him. Democracy at the local level, as with any other kind of democracy is reliant on public participation. If the public saw the local democracy as a replica of the central level, with all its faults and shortcomings, they would lose interest rapidly. In order to develop democracy at a local level Musharraf may have realised that he was reliant on the media. It is easier to have a close eye on a limited number of politicians at the central level, but it is much more difficult to know what is going on thousands of local bodies. Even though it may not have been one of the main reasons, Musharraf may have liberalised the media with the vision that there should be more participation of the public at the local level in politics and oversight from the media. The idea was that if you want a new democracy, you need democratic media as well.

### **5.2.2 Technological and economic factors**

Due to the electronic media revolution in the world, it was difficult for the Pakistani government to hold back on international trends in media. Musharraf's governments either faced the possibility of lagging behind in the development of the electronic media or take the initiative. If one takes into account Musharraf's personal views, such as being liberal and progressive, it is natural to conclude that Musharraf would not have wanted Pakistan to lag behind in the electronic media race. In 2002 the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) was created and the PEMRA-ordinance was issued by the government.

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<sup>45</sup> Netherlands Institute for International Relations Clingendael. (2010). Devolution row: An Assessment of Pakistan's 2001 Local Government Ordinance. The Hague.

In the coming years, PEMRA licensed around 40 independent broadcasting channels. As described in chapter 1.6, even though the liberalisation efforts of the Musharraf government were directed towards the electronic media, through this process Musharraf may also have laid the foundations for other parts of the media, such as the print media, to become more independent and vocal.

However Musharraf also saw liberalization of the media as a business opportunity. Musharraf used the liberalisation of the media to offer private companies an investment opportunity in order to promote growth as well as using the free media to promote democracy on a district level. The liberalisation was an offer from the government to invest in the sector, and the number of TV-channels coming on air showed that private companies such as Jang Group invested.

Large parts of the Pakistani industry was nationalised by the government of Zulifqar Ali Bhutto in the 1970's.<sup>46</sup> The private sector economy flourished in Pakistan in the 90's through a privatisation process initiated by the government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. This led to development of private sector economy. Private companies were emerging in Pakistan and they needed a bigger media footprint to promote their products. This was also linked to the fact that people could be inspired through media. The more inspiration people have, the more they will work, and the more business will be generated. That was the modernization theory that was presented by Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner in the early 1950's.<sup>47</sup> Musharraf's idea was not new; it was a reproduction of Lerner's idea. Musharraf perhaps did not know about Lerner's theory, but the idea was the same - if you want to modernize the society, increase living standards and get people to participate in the democracy you need to use the media.

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<sup>46</sup> PPP defends Bhutto's nationalisation policy. (2013). Retrieved from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1061655>

<sup>47</sup> Shah, H. (2011). The production of modernization (1st ed.). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.



There has also been speculation that the Pakistani government liberalised the media in order to encourage more channels to come on air, so that the government could get more revenues.

Shah, S. (interview, February 2014) agrees that this was an addition benefit, but not a major driving force. Mahmood (interview, July 2013) agrees with Shah, S. and claims that the government revenue was about 2 – 2.5 million rupees per channel (around 100 000 – 150 000 NOK) per year when this started. This rose to around 5 million rupees. Lately PEMRA has stopped issuing licenses and has signalled that they want to conduct an open bid auction. Even though, the latter may reflect a revenue thought, former levels of fees were not sufficient to support the revenue argument. This would support the argument that revenue was not a major driving force behind the liberalisation of the media. Soomro (interview, February 2014) disagrees completely with the revenue argument and points out that if you free the media, you will put yourself in a difficult position. That is to some degree true. Free media will always challenge you. It is not reasonable to put one in the position of being challenged by the media just for the revenue argument.

## 5.3 Conclusion

The Pakistani electronic media was liberalised through the instalment and creation of the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA). PEMRA issued media licences, and got revenues for that. At the same time, PEMRA's mandate was so wide that it could be used to control the media when needed. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Musharraf was a liberal man, both on social and economic issues, who wanted an open and tolerant society. Liberalising the media and created new arenas of information for the public and at the same time creating a new large business segment would benefit Musharraf's liberal views both socially and economically.

## 6 The political crisis of 2007

In order to understand the political crisis of 2007 in Pakistan, one has to understand what had happened in Pakistani politics earlier in the decade. After Musharraf came to power in 1999, the first General Elections were held by the military government in the autumn of 2002. The Pakistan Muslim League (Q), which supported Musharraf, won that election, although the party failed to get an absolute majority. Before the elections, Musharraf had assumed the powers of President on 20 June 2001. On 1 January 2004 the Pakistani Parliament re-elected Musharraf as the President. An elected Parliament cannot sit for more than five years in Pakistan. This meant that new elections had to be announced and the Parliament dissolved within a five year period (around mid of November 2007). In such situation a care-taker (neutral) government comes in place in order to hold fair and free elections, normally within three months after the parliament is dissolved.

The five-year period from 2002 to 2007 marked some of Musharraf's highs and lows as head of state of Pakistan. In 2002, Pakistan's annual GDP growth rate was 3.2 %.<sup>48</sup> This spiked to 7.7 % in 2005, much thanks influx of financial aid from the American government in return for Pakistan's support on the war on terror. But Pakistan's support for the war on terror was also wearing down the economy. In 2007 GDP growth rate was down to 5 % and declining rapidly. This decline coincided with increasing terrorism activity inside Pakistan. In 2007, Pakistan experienced 54 suicide bomb attacks, more than double the number of suicide attacks in 2002-2006 combined.<sup>49</sup> According to Reuters, for the first time since 2002, Musharraf's approval ratings were below 50 % in 2007.<sup>50</sup> In July

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<sup>48</sup> The World Bank,. (n.d.). GDP growth (annual %). Data.worldbank.org. Retrieved from <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG/countries/PK?page=1&display=default>

<sup>49</sup> The Conflict Monitoring Center,. (2013). Considerable Escalation in Suicide Attacks in 2013. Cmcpc.net. Retrieved from <http://www.cmcpc.net/2013/12/considerable-escalation-in-suicide-attacks-in-2013/>

<sup>50</sup> Reuters. (2007). Musharraf's approval rating slumps in Pakistan. In.reuters.com. Retrieved from <http://in.reuters.com/article/2007/08/01/pakistan-politics-survey-idINISL20309720070801>

2007, Musharraf's approval ratings were 34 %, dropping 20 % in just four months. According to the same report *“Economic issues, not security problems, remained the greatest concerns for Pakistanis. Fifty-one percent described inflation as the top issue, 19 percent cited unemployment and 13 percent said poverty.”*

Musharraf knew that by November 2007 he would have to dissolve the Parliament and announce General Elections. Facing a general election, Musharraf tried to make sure that he could stay in power.

## **6.1 Relationship between the government and the media between 2002 and 2007**

The relationship between the government and the media was good between 2002 and 2007. According to Shah, S. (interview, February 2014) the Pakistani media was operating relatively free in this period. Political talk shows became very popular in this period. The concepts of hourly news and breaking news were introduced. Politically critical events were covered in detail with critical analysis. Parodies of the influential political personalities became popular. But the media was still practising some level of self-censorship when it came to very sensitive topics (Shah, S., interview, February 2014). It was not until the last days of the Musharraf government that the media were silenced.

Another important factor in the 2002-2007 period was the relationship between the different media groups themselves. The relationship between media groups, and especially television channels was fierce. Everybody was trying get ahead of each other and using all means available to achieve their goals, according to Shah, S. (interview, February 2014). The sudden rise of the number of television channels was probably to blame for the situation between the media houses. There was a shortage of skilled people in the media. The rise of the electronic media led to sudden and huge increase in demand for skilled people. The

infrastructure and resources in the society were not prepared for that. A lot of people who worked in the print media came over to the electronic media, as well a lot of new people who did not have any experience. A lot of people did not know how to handle the electronic media, which led to many errors, according to Mahmood (interview, July 2013). Mahmood, in the interview, also distinguished between media that had landing rights in Pakistan and the part of the media that was broadcasting from Pakistan.

Whether the media had a good relationship with the government depended on several factors. According to Mahmood (interview, July 2013) many of the largest channels were not broadcasting from Pakistan. GEO News and ARY had landing rights in Pakistan and were broadcasting from Dubai, UAE. Those channels which were broadcasting from Pakistan were interested in having a good relationship with the government in order to not get shut down. Those broadcasting from abroad were also interested in good relationship in order to keep their landing rights, but to a lesser extent than those broadcasting from Pakistan. As the electronic media became more experienced, it gradually also became more confident and independent. In addition, there were other forces at play. Political forces in Pakistan, as well as foreign stakeholder thought that the media could be used to promote their agenda, and the role of these forces increased.

Based on my analysis, and especially the interviews, I believe that the relationship between media and Musharraf was balanced between 2002 and 2007. But the media and Musharraf were on diverging paths. As with all dictators in Pakistan, as the years passed by, Musharraf came under increasing pressure, especially because of his support for the war on terror. Naturally, this would have made him more nervous and less able to trust the media. The media on the other hand were becoming more independent and vocal. In addition to this, the Pakistani society itself was going through changes in that same period. According to Soomro (interview, February 2014) between 2002 and 2007 the Pakistani society itself was in a transition. The middle class, especially in the urban areas were becoming more affluent. The impact of foreign cultures, such as

music, television soaps and fashion was also easier available due to globalisation and technological advances. Domestically people had more choices in terms of news, language and entertainment on television. In that transitional period the media played an important in the society. When there was more electronic media, people were getting more involved. The rise of the media also meant a more aware and conscious public. There is no doubt that in 2007 the public was more politically aware than in 1999 or 2002. People were more politically charged and more aware in terms of political affairs. People were more active in terms of receiving and discussing the political information. Media was more powerful in 2007, because they had established themselves and their credibility. According to Soomro (interview, February 2014) people thought that the changes in the society between 2002 and 2007 were because of the media. In my view this is a strong statement. In my opinion, media in many regards was the face of the changes, through which people could identify themselves with the changes happening in the society.

## **6.2 The first crisis**

Musharraf's faced two challenges to remain in power in 2007. The first one was judicial. The Pakistani Constitution forbids government officials from taking the position of the President. Musharraf being the Chief of Army staff could therefore not be the President. Musharraf had earlier manoeuvred around this obstacle, but due to his decreasing popularity he was facing legal actions challenging his right to be re-elected as the President of Pakistan and the same time be the head of the powerful army. Without being the head of the Army, Musharraf could no longer command the unconditional support of the armed forces, thus making him vulnerable as President. The second challenge was political. Even if Musharraf found a judicial way to stay in power, the parties that supported were facing a major defeat in the elections, making it difficult to be re-elected.

Musharraf tried to remove the judicial hurdle, the Supreme Court of Pakistan, first. Musharraf had appointed Iftikhar Chaudhry as the Chief Justice of Pakistan on 30 June 2005.<sup>51</sup> On 9 March 2007 Musharraf removed Chaudhry as the Chief Justice of Pakistan. This was the first time in the history of Pakistan that such action had been taken. According to BBC (12 March 2007) *“General Musharraf called the chief justice to Army House, his official residence in Rawalpindi, and asked him to explain his position on a list of charges brought against him from several quarters.”*<sup>52</sup> Not finding the answers satisfactory, the Chief Justice was suspended on 9 March 2007 until a judicial panel could rule on the allegations against the Chief Justice. According to NY Times (15 March 2007) *“The exact charges against the chief justice have not been made public, but there are allegations of misconduct and misuse of authority.”*<sup>53</sup>

The removal of the chief justice led to huge protests in Pakistan against Musharraf. According to NY Times (June 8 2007) *“The political crisis over the suspension of Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry in March, has shown no sign of abating. Indeed, the uproar and protests over Mr. Chaudhry’s refusal to submit to the suspension has created the greatest challenge to the rule of Pakistan’s president, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, since he seized power in a coup in 1999.”*<sup>54</sup> Further, NY Times reported that *“Apparently in an effort to curb news coverage of the crisis, General Musharraf issued a decree on Monday giving the government broader power to shut down independent television channels. The decree spurred the protests on Thursday.”* This was Musharraf’s first attempt at trying to control the media. In July 2007 the Supreme Court, in clear defiance of

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<sup>51</sup> BBC,. (2012). Profile: Pakistan's Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry. BBC News. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-18425141>

<sup>52</sup> BBC. (2007). Judge row prompts Pakistan democracy questions. News.bbc.co.uk. Retrieved from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/6442829.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/6442829.stm)

<sup>53</sup> Furor over Musharraf's suspension of Pakistan's chief justice. (2007). Retrieved from [http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/15/world/asia/15iht-pakistan.4922391.html?\\_r=2&](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/15/world/asia/15iht-pakistan.4922391.html?_r=2&)

<sup>54</sup> Protests Rage Against Musharraf; Aides Criticize Justice He Ousted. (2007). Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/08/world/asia/08pakistan.html?fta=y>

Musharraf, ruled that the suspension of the Chief Justice was illegal and thereby reinstated him.<sup>55</sup>

Musharraf had now lost whatever influence on the Supreme Court he earlier may have enjoyed. In addition, the Supreme Court's ruling on reinstating the Chief Justice was a public humiliation for Musharraf. In the coming months, the Supreme Court of Pakistan ruled against Musharraf in several cases, such as allowing his main rival, former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to return to Pakistan.

Having faced defeat in trying to control the judicial system, Musharraf turned his attention to the political hurdle in order to gather support. Musharraf turned to his longtime critic, the self-exiled former Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto. Bhutto was the leader of the main opposition party, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), which her father, Zulifqar Ali Bhutto had founded. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation reported on 27 July 2007, only seven days after the Chief Justice was reinstated that *"Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf has held secret talks with opposition leader and former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, a government minister said Saturday. According to media reports in Pakistan, the once-bitter rivals discussed a power-sharing deal."*<sup>56</sup> Bhutto herself was interested in a deal with Musharraf, as she and her husband, later president Asif Ali Zardari, were facing corruption charges from their earlier times in power.

Musharraf solved Bhutto's problems through the controversial National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) on 5 October 2007. The NRO meant that certain people would be granted amnesty from criminal prosecution for crimes committed between 1 January 1986, and 12 October 1999. Both Bhutto, her husband and many others from her political party, as well as bureaucrats were granted amnesty through the NRO. The NRO sparked huge debate and protests in

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<sup>55</sup> Chief Justice Is Reinstated in Pakistan. (2007). Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/20/world/asia/20cnd-pakistan.html?pagewanted=print>

<sup>56</sup> CBCNews. (2007). Musharraf, Bhutto hold talks amid reports of power-sharing deal. Cbc.ca. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/musharraf-bhutto-hold-talks-amid-reports-of-power-sharing-deal-1.647870>

Pakistan, as it were seen as a means for Musharraf to gain the support of Bhutto, and thereby stay in power. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT) has done research on the NRO and its impact on the general election. PILDAT is an independent, non-partisan and not-for-profit think tank focused on political and public policy research and legislative strengthening. Its mission is to strengthen democracy and democratic institutions in Pakistan.<sup>57</sup> According to PILDAT research paper (2007) *“The National Reconciliation Ordinance 2007 was notified on October 5, 2007. It is not a secret that various drafts of the proposed NRO were exchanged between the Government and the Pakistan People’s Party”*.<sup>58</sup> The NRO was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Pakistan on 16 December 2009.

Musharraf won the Presidential election, held on 6 October 2007. The Electoral College consisted of the national assembly, and the provincial assemblies. However, the victory was not decisive. According to The Guardian (6 October 2007) *“Pakistan's supreme court kept General Pervez Musharraf on tenterhooks yesterday by allowing him to contest today's presidential election but denying him a widely expected victory. The court ruled that no winner of the vote by Pakistan's parliamentarians could be declared until after a challenge to Gen Musharraf's candidacy has been heard later this month, keeping alive the possibility that he could be disqualified.”*<sup>59</sup>

## 6.3 The second crisis

After winning the Presidential election on 6 October 2007, Musharraf had to wait for a judgment by the Supreme Court on whether he was eligible to run for the

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<sup>57</sup> Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency. (n.d.). About PILDAT. Pildat.org. Retrieved from <http://www.pildat.org/about.asp>

<sup>58</sup> Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development And Transparency,. (2007). National Reconciliation Ordinance - NRO 2007 - Analysis and the Impact on the General Election. Islamabad: PILDAT.

<sup>59</sup> Court blocks Musharraf's path to re-election as Pakistani president. (2007). Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/oct/06/pakistan.international>



Presidency. He was apparently not willing to risk a judgment by the Supreme Court against him. Musharraf, therefore on 3 November 2007, without waiting for a court verdict on the election petition, issued a proclamation of emergency. The emergency rule gave Musharraf sweeping powers.

According to Reuters (3 November 2007) *“Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf imposed a state of emergency in a bid to end an eight-month crisis over his rule fuelled by challenges from a hostile judiciary, Islamist militants and political rivals. General Musharraf said he decided to act on Saturday in response to a rise in extremism and what he called the paralysis of government by judicial interference.”*<sup>60</sup> According to NY Times (3 November 2007) declaring the national emergency meant *“suspending the country’s Constitution, blacking out all independent television news reports and filling the streets of the capital with police officers and soldiers.”*<sup>61</sup> This in principle meant that Musharraf assumed absolute power, and at the same time he sacked the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court for the second time in less than a year.

According to Alan Kronstadt, Specialist in South Asian Affairs (6 November 2007) at the US Congressional research Service, Musharraf *“also held certain elements in the Pakistani media responsible for deteriorating conditions.”*<sup>62</sup> Further, Kronstadt (2007) states *“The emergency declaration led to an immediate and harsh crackdown on Pakistan’s independent media outlets. Numerous private television and radio stations were blacked out in the wake of Musharraf’s announcement and a new government order banned any media reports that “defame or bring ridicule” to the government or military. Violations of the order can bring a one-year prison sentence or a five million rupee (\$82,000) fine. As of November 6, independent domestic news stations, as well as international outlets such as the BBC and CNN, remained off the air in Pakistan. Moreover, about*

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<sup>60</sup> Reuters. (2007). Musharraf imposes emergency rule. Reuters. Retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/11/03/us-pakistan-emergency-idUSCOL19928320071103>

<sup>61</sup> Musharraf declares state of emergency. (2007). Retrieved from [http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/03/world/asia/04pakistan.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/03/world/asia/04pakistan.html?_r=0)

<sup>62</sup> Congressional Research Service. (2007). Pakistan's Political Crisis and State of Emergency. Washington D.C.

*2,000 opposition figures, human rights activists, and lawyers were rounded up and detained in the two days following the emergency proclamation.”*

The proclamation of emergency rule led to massive rallies against Musharraf. On 28 November Musharraf resigned as the head of the Pakistan Army and the next day took oath as a civilian President.<sup>63</sup>

The next General Elections in Pakistan were planned to be held in early 2008. The election campaign of the political parties geared up towards the end of 2007. Former Prime Minister Bhutto returned to Pakistan in October of 2007 and former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif returned in the end of November 2007. After returning from a political rally, Bhutto was killed either by gunshots or a suicide bomb attack in her car on 27 December 2007. According to The Guardian (28 December 2007) *“The assassination of the Pakistani opposition leader Benazir Bhutto last night triggered violent convulsions across the country, casting grave doubts on elections scheduled for January 8 as well as marking a dark finale to a tragedy-strewn life. Angry scenes erupted in cities across the country, where enraged supporters torched businesses and trains, attacked police and blocked roads with burning tyres. Gunfire rang out on the streets of Karachi, the port city where Bhutto spent much of her life.”*<sup>64</sup>

The assassination of Bhutto led to huge protests against Musharraf because Musharraf was President at the time. Musharraf was also later charged with the murder of Bhutto.<sup>65</sup> The assassination led to a sympathy wave in favour of Bhutto’s party. The General Elections has to be postponed until 18 February 2008. Musharraf’s coalition partner suffered a huge defeat and a coalition of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto’s party (Pakistan People’s Party – PPP) and former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif’s Party (Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz – PML-N) won the election. The new government signalled in August

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<sup>63</sup> Musharraf resigns as army chief. (2007). Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/28/world/asia/28iht-28pakistan-resigned.8509070.html>

<sup>64</sup> Bhutto assassinated. (2007). Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/dec/28/pakistan.topstories33>

<sup>65</sup> BBC. (2014). Musharraf charged over Bhutto case. BBC News. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-23764633>

2008 that they would impeach Musharraf on violation of the constitution and misconduct, and following this threat Musharraf stepped down on 18 August 2008 and later left the country to go into exile.

## **6.4 Effect of the crisis**

The first crisis described in chapter 6.2 was a judicial crisis, where Musharraf tried to take of the Supreme Court of Pakistan by removing the Chief Justice. Had he managed to do so, the second crisis may not have occurred. The second crisis occurred because Musharraf viewed the Supreme Court and the media as hostile to him and was not sure whether the Supreme Court would allow him to stay on as President. The two crises are thereby interlinked.

Whatever the reasons Musharraf had, there is no doubt that the removing of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and proclamation of emergency rules were acts that threatened the stability of the country. How the media reacted and covered these two crises and the media's impact on the outcome of the power struggle is analysed and discussed in chapters seven.

A time line of main events between March 9 2007 and 18 August 2008 is given in figure 1 below.

<b>Timeline of the political crisis in 2007-2008<sup>66 67</sup></b>	
<b>March 9, 2007</b>	Musharraf suspends Supreme Court Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry over allegations of misconduct. Lawyers rally around the top judge and Musharraf's popularity plummets.
<b>July 10</b>	Musharraf orders troops to storm the Red Mosque in Islamabad to crush a Taliban-style movement there. At least 105 people are killed. Militant attacks and suicide bombings follow.
<b>July 20</b>	Supreme Court reinstates Chief Justice Chaudhry, dealing a blow to Musharraf's authority.
<b>Aug 23</b>	<b>Mr Chaudhry rules that Nawaz Sharif, the former prime minister who has been in exile in Saudi Arabia, can return to Pakistan.</b>
<b>July 27</b>	Musharraf meets former prime minister Benazir Bhutto in Abu Dhabi for inconclusive talks on how to move the country towards a civilian-led democracy. Bhutto demands Musharraf step down as army chief.
<b>Sept 10</b>	Former prime minister Nawaz Sharif is arrested at Islamabad airport on his arrival from exile, despite the Supreme Court clearing his return. He is deported to Saudi Arabia.
<b>Sept 13</b>	Mr Chaudhry establishes a judicial panel to rule on whether Gen Musharraf can stand for re-election.
<b>Oct 2</b>	Musharraf's government announces it will drop graft charges against Bhutto, clearing the way for her return.
<b>Oct 6</b>	Musharraf wins a presidential vote by legislators. Supreme Court holds off confirming legality of vote.
<b>Oct 8</b>	<b>Former intelligence chief Ashfaq Kiyani takes over as vice-chief of the army and is set to take the top army job if Gen</b>

<sup>66</sup> President Pervez Musharraf resigns: Timeline. (2008). Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2578531/President-Pervez-Musharraf-resigns-Timeline.html>

<sup>67</sup> Pervez Musharraf: a history in power. (2008). Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/aug/18/pakistan2>

	<b>Musharraf steps aside.</b>
<b>Oct 17</b>	<b>The Supreme Court resumes hearing opposition challenges to Gen Musharraf's election.</b>
<b>Oct 19</b>	Suicide bomber tries to assassinate Bhutto in Karachi as she returns from eight years of exile.
<b>Nov 1</b>	<b>Ms Bhutto leaves Pakistan for Dubai to visit her family, after earlier cancelling a trip amid fears that Gen Musharraf would impose state of emergency or martial law.</b>
<b>Nov 2</b>	Supreme Court meets to decide if Musharraf was eligible to stand for re-election while still army chief.
<b>Nov 3</b>	Musharraf imposes emergency rule, detaining thousands of opposition politicians and lawyers. Musharraf removed Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry from office for the second time and detained several other senior judges.
<b>Nov 11</b>	Musharraf says parliamentary elections will be held by Jan. 8.
<b>Nov 13</b>	Bhutto is placed under house arrest for a week in Lahore, hours before planned march against emergency rule. Bhutto says Musharraf must quit as president.
<b>Nov 15</b>	Musharraf appoints Senate chairman Mohammad mian Soomro to head a caretaker line-up to oversee elections.
<b>Nov 22</b>	Commonwealth suspends Pakistan.
<b>Nov 25</b>	Sharif returns from exile.
<b>Nov 28</b>	Tearful Musharraf hands command of the army to General Ashfaq Kayani.
<b>Nov 29</b>	Musharraf is sworn in as civilian leader.
<b>Dec 15</b>	Musharraf lifts state of emergency, restores constitution.
<b>Dec 27</b>	Bhutto is assassinated in a gun and bomb attack.
<b>Jan 2, 2008</b>	Election delayed from Jan 8 to Feb 18 because of disturbances after Bhutto's assassination.
<b>Feb 18</b>	Resounding election victory for parties led by Bhutto's widower Asif

	Ali Zardari (Pakistan People's Party) and Sharif (Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)). Analysts say Musharraf may be driven out.
<b>March 9</b>	Sharif says he will join Zardari to form a coalition hostile to Musharraf.
<b>Aug 7</b>	Ruling coalition says it will launch proceedings to impeach Musharraf.
<b>Aug 16</b>	Pakistan's ruling coalition prepares impeachment charges against Musharraf focusing on violation of the constitution and misconduct.
<b>Aug 18</b>	Musharraf announces resignation.

Figure 1- Timeline of the political crisis in 2007-2008

# 7 Analysis of the media's reaction to and the coverage of the political crisis

In this part of the analysis I will try to answer how the media reacted to Musharraf's actions. The methods for this analysis are described in chapter 2. I will first analyse the reaction and coverage of the two newspapers, The News (Jang Group) and Dawn News (Dawn Group) supplemented. After that I will try to do a broader analysis by including the information from other sources as well. Finally I will try to summarise what impact the media might have had on the outcome of the crises.

## 7.1 Media's reaction and coverage

### 7.1.1 The News - Jang Group

#### **The first crisis - Message, angle and support**

In beginning of the first crisis, The News' opposition to the government's actions is rather obvious. Already in the first news article on 10 March 2007 about the removal of the Chief Justice, The News was very clear on their opposition to the government's actions. Journalist Tariq Butt wrote that the removal of the chief justice was the result of a "... *vilification campaign against him [the Chief Justice]*" initiated by the government. According to the same news article by Tariq Butt, the letter sent by a lawyer which served as the basis for charges against the Chief Justice "... *was believably written on prodding from the government*". The News in several news articles in the initial days of the crisis went a long way in honouring and supporting the Chief Justice. In the above mentioned news article The News wrote that "*A major credit that Justice Chaudhry has is that he took concrete steps to clear the backlog of cases*" and

that “... *his intervention in cases of public importance and human rights violations was remarkable*”. The News continuously questioned the methods of the government and in a news article on 13 March 2007, The News claims that the charges against the Chief Justice “... *are a mystery*” and that Pakistan will be adding “... *a new chapter to its judicial history*” by opening a trial against Chaudhry. The favourable tone towards the Chief Justice was echoed by several other journalists at The News. Senior investigative journalist and editor at The News wrote in a news article on 13 March 2007 that “*He stood like a rock, ready to face the challenge...*” referring to the Chief Justice’s meeting with President Musharraf prior to him being charged with misconduct.

Based on the analysis of news article written by a handful of journalist, it is not possible to definitely conclude on The News’ message, support and angle during the beginning of the crisis. However, the tone in the initial coverage of an important news story, like the sacking of the Chief Justice, might influence the future coverage as well. If we look at the news article together with editorials from The News at the time, the views of The News becomes all the more clear. In an editorial titled “*All the makings of a police state*” on 13 March 2007 The News wrote the removal of the Chief Justice was “...*extremely depressing reading for anyone remotely concerned about the state of the nation.*” The News in the same editorial claimed that the house arrest of the Chief Justice was a black spot on this government that would be impossible to erase from the memory of the nation.

Editorials where The News expressed disapproval and disappointment in the government’s actions and expressed support of the deposed Chief Justice were also published in the coming days. It is clear from the initial coverage by The News that the newspaper supported the deposed Chief Justice and took a stance against the government of Musharraf.

It is interesting to see that The News brought forward the role of the media in the crisis as important. On 13 March 2007 The News quoted a source close to the Chief Justice as saying that “... *the only hope left is the media.*” On 14 March



2007 The News in an editorial warned the government against attempts to control or censor the media. PEMRA in the recent days had warned two private TV-channels for showing footage of demonstrations against the government. Reminding the government of the recent technological advances and its own media liberalisation policies, The News wrote that censoring the media would be impossible due to technological advances.

It is clear that The News was on a path where it felt confident enough to be outspoken against any attempts by the government to control the media's coverage of the crisis. On 16 March 2007 the crisis took a new turn when the offices of The News and Geo TV, both belonging to the Jang Group come under attack from the police. The offices were rampaged and several employees were hurt. This was reported by The News in a news article on 17 March 2007 under the title "*Media under siege*", and the newspaper called it a "*black day*". The attack on the media was according to the same news article unprovoked and the force used by the police was brutal. In an editorial on 17 March 2007 The News wrote that "*It is difficult to express enough outrage and anger at the brazen attack by the police on the offices of Geo television and The News in Islamabad's Blue Area on Friday afternoon.*" Clearly indicating that the attack was ordered by someone powerful in the government, the same editorial claimed that "*The scale of the attack and the damage that it caused suggest that the police could not have carried out this operation without orders from 'above'*". Further, the editorial claimed that The News and its sister television channel Geo TV were targeted because of "*... their outspoken and candid coverage of the crisis arising out of the suspension of the chief justice of Pakistan*". The editorial further asked (and answered) whether "*... a message [was] being sent to the country's independent media? Clearly, even the most fervent supporters and well-wishers of the government will have difficulty answering this in anything but the positive.*" The crackdown on the Jang Group on 16 March 2007 sparked fresh protests and left the government on the defensive. The situation even prompted a rare apology from Musharraf himself on Geo TV the same day. On 5 April 2007 The News reported in a news article that the government had investigated the

attack on the Jang Group and the conclusion was that the police had crossed their limits but that there was no conspiracy behind the attack.

It was the Supreme Court of Pakistan that would decide whether the Chief Justice was guilty as charged by the government. The case against the Chief Justice thereby became a judicial matter. Judicial matters of this magnitude take time, so the news story lost some of its initial momentum in the news line in the coming months as the judicial proceedings continued in the Supreme Court. There was still wide news coverage of the protests against the government, especially by the lawyer community, but there were just a handful of editorials related to this topic in *The News* in April and May 2007. However, most of the stories were still negative to Musharraf with coverage of protests by Musharraf's opponents and arrests and other human rights violations by the government. The same was true for the few editorials related to this topic.

The news story gained momentum in the beginning of June 2007, when it was becoming clear that the judicial proceedings were coming to an end and that a verdict by the Supreme Court might come in the near future. The government was unhappy with the coverage of the crisis in the recent months. The government therefore turned its focus towards the media. In a news article titled "*Durrani warns electronic media*" on 1 June 2007, journalist Asim Yasin quoted Musharraf's information minister Muhammad Ali Durrani as saying that "*The media should observe the rules of Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) and the government will also strictly implement these rules and will not allow anyone to malign the armed forces, the judiciary or any other constitutional institutions*". The government seemed to be particularly unhappy with the media's coverage of an affidavit filed by the Chief Justice in the Supreme Court on 29 May 2007 where he stated that several senior military officials had tried to convince him to step down before he was sacked by Musharraf. In the same news article on 1 June 2007, Muhammad Ali Durrani was quoted as saying that "... it was felt that some people *'misused'* the freedom, while attempting to malign or defame institution of armed forces." Even though the press earlier had practiced self-censorship, especially related to matters

concerning the armed forces, this policy now seemed on the move. In an editorial on 1 June 2007 The News wrote that *“The crisis has also brought - inevitably - focus on the role of the military in the country.”* The News elaborated on this through the same editorial and stated that they had every right to shed light on the Chief Justice’s claims and that they had no intentions to comply with the government’s demands. The News wrote that the government could not expect the media to downplay “explosive” contents of the affidavit, and that such expectations was to miss the entire point about the role and function of the media. The News pointed out that the main aspects of media is to act as a watchdog and monitor over the actions and policies of the various institutions of the state so that the public good/interest can be furthered. The News further claimed that it is because of this aspect that the media was having a somewhat strained relationship with the government, especially since the government wanted to dictate the media by often using the “in-the-national-interest” reference. The News further claimed that it does not serve the public or national interest if the media becomes a spokesperson for the government, and if it does so it loses its independence and credibility and becomes another arm of the state -- which it is not.

I have not analysed to what extent The News’ opinion was echoed by other parts of the media. However, the government felt that some form of action had to be taken. On 5 June 2007 The News published a news article under the title *“Electronic media gagged further”*. The government had announced the PEMRA Amendment Ordinance of 2007. According to The News there made several amendments which gave PEMRA the power to seize a broadcast or distribution service equipment, seal the premises or suspend broadcastings licenses. The News had strong opinions regarding the changes the government was implementing. In an editorial on 6 June 2007 The News wrote “It seems that the government is readying itself for a war on the media, particularly the electronic one, in the country. (...) In this context, it would be fair to say that the sole aim of the changes is to bring the media in general, and the electronic one in particular, to a point of submission. (...) Surely, the way forward out of the crisis is not to

open another, potentially dangerous, front with the media.” It was clear that the government was unhappy with the electronic media and the media and the government was on a warpath.

In a news article under the title “*Countrywide rallies against media curbs*” The News on 6 June 2007 reported massive protests against the PEMRA amendments across the country. There were reports of protestors burning copies of the PEMRA amendment as well statements from international organisations who were worried about the recent developments related to press freedom in Pakistan. On 7 June 2007 The News reported of protests against the PEMRA amendments in the National Assembly by the opposition. On the same day The News reported that the government had suspended the changes to the PEMRA act. For the second time in less than three months, the government of Musharraf had lost a fight with the media, the first one being the attack on the offices of Jang Group for which Musharraf had to make an apology. At this point The News itself, through an editorial, claimed that the government had opened “*a new front against the media*”, referring to the first front being against judiciary.

By the end of June and early July 2007 Pakistan was grasped by another national crisis, which affected the coverage of the judicial crisis. For some time, militants in the Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) in Islamabad had been harassing and kidnapping people and acting like moral police in the country’s capital. The leader of the Lal Masjid was seen as a supporter of Taliban and Al Qaeda. In the beginning of July 2007 this led to an outright confrontation between the militants and the government, and the government stormed the Lal Masjid on 10 July 2007. The battle cost hundreds of people their lives.<sup>68</sup>

Shortly after the Lal Masjid incident the Supreme Court took a decision to reinstate the deposed Chief Justice. Under the title “*Triumph of law and reason*” The News on 21 July 2007 in a news article reported that “*The reinstatement of Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhary by a full bench of the Supreme Court led by*

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<sup>68</sup> Wikipedia. (n.d.). Siege of Lal Masjid. Wikipedia. Retrieved from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege\\_of\\_Lal\\_Masjid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege_of_Lal_Masjid)

*Justice Khalil-ur-Rehman Ramday is probably the most significant judicial decision in Pakistan's history.*" Openly challenging Musharraf, The News in the same news article wrote that *"General Musharraf put into play a series of events that threatened to cause irreparable harm to the structure of the state and the spirit of the nation. He would be wise to practice self-accountability at this hour before public accountability takes over."* In an editorial on the same day The News wrote that *"The judgment by a 13-member full court of the Supreme Court announced on Friday, which ruled that the suspension of the Chief Justice of Pakistan was unconstitutional, is truly momentous. It comes as a solid blow to the government's credibility."*

### **The second crisis - Message, angle and support**

The second crisis was more serious than the first one. The first crisis was a crisis between the government and the judiciary, whereas the second crisis was a national crisis where Musharraf declared a National Emergency effectively sidelining the constitution and becoming the absolute ruler of the country.<sup>69</sup>

As far as the coverage of The News is concerned, the coverage in the second crisis continued where the coverage in the first crisis ended. In one of the first newspaper article related to the imposition of the emergency rule on 4 November 2007 The News used phrases like *"The entire nation received this development as a bombshell as it shocked everyone that instead of the Constitution the country would be governed by President General Pervez Musharraf"*. The News further described Musharraf's actions as an outright coup against the Supreme Court of Pakistan. In an editorial on the same day The News went even further and wrote that *"November 3 will go down as another dark day in Pakistan's political and constitutional history. It can be safely said that this is one of General Pervez Musharraf's gravest errors of judgment, and a sorry indication that nothing has been learnt from the mistakes of the past."* The News had already from day one taken their stance against the government, as they had done in the first crisis.

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<sup>69</sup> Musharraf declares state of emergency. (2007). Retrieved from [http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/03/world/asia/04pakistan.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/03/world/asia/04pakistan.html?_r=0)

Together with the emergency rule, Musharraf also introduced new tough media policy, effectively taking away many rights related to freedom of the media. This was initially described on a factual basis by The News in a news article on 4 November 2007. On 6 November 2007 The News published a news article under the title *“Government threatens to seal Jang press”*. The government was still unhappy with Jang Group and the latter had refused to stop printing one of its newspapers. According to the same news article in The News *“The afternoon paper, Awam, had to print extra editions to cope with the need for information by public who are starved of credible news following the closure of the country’s private news channels after proclamation of emergency”*. It is clear that The News and Jang Groups saw themselves as defenders of democracy. In an editorial on 9 November 2007 The News challenged the government and said that the freedom of press was by many government officials seen as a favour to the public rather than an inherent part of the society. The News claimed that the changes in media for last eight years were a result of technological advances and ordinary people’s demand for news.

The second crisis was of a different kind than the first one. In the first the Chief Justice was charged with misconduct and removed from his position. His fate was to be decided by the Supreme Court. The media therefore had a set of events related to the judicial proceedings to report from. However, during the second crisis there was no such process. Musharraf had taken complete and absolute charge of the country and everybody was awaiting his further actions. The News in several editorials during the crisis urged Musharraf to lift the emergency rules, and restoration of the constitution seemed to be goal for The News. As had been the case during the first crisis, most of the news articles and editorials published during the second crisis were critical or negative to Musharraf. Throughout the second crisis The News published articles that were mostly negative to Musharraf.

The News seems to be of the opinion that the public and media pressure towards Musharraf was working. By 13 November 2007 The News reported in a news article that the public and media pressure towards Musharraf had forced him to

announce early elections. However, this feeling would be short lived. On 16 November 2007 Musharraf convinced the rulers of Dubai to stop all transmissions of Geo TV, the sister television channel of The News. The News on 17 November in a news article reported that Geo TV was seen “... *around the world as the main source of news and current affairs.*” Other TV-channels, who were operating from within Pakistan, had already been blocked earlier at the declaration of the emergency rules. Geo TV was allowed to go back on air on 29 November 2007, the same day as Musharraf was sworn in as a civilian president.

One surprising finding was that The News during the second crisis also gave extensive coverage to what foreigners, especially the American government, had to say about the situation in Pakistan. The American had huge influence in Pakistan, and Musharraf was seen as a key ally to the Americans. However, the Americans were at several accusations direct in their criticism of Musharraf, and this was given broad coverage in The News. One such situation occurred when US Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte was quoted in a news article on 19 November 2007 of saying “*We do not think that these kinds of measures (banning TV channels) are conducive to fair and free elections*”. Further, the American ambassador to Pakistan clearly showed her support for Geo TV when she visited their headquarters on 19 November 2007 in Karachi.

On 23 November 2007 Musharraf got the relief he was looking for. On 24 November 2007 in a news article The News reported that the Supreme Court of Pakistan, consisting of judges who were not removed by him upon the declaration of the emergency, declared the emergency rule as valid. The Supreme Court gave Musharraf until 1 December to hang up his military uniform, if he wanted to be sworn in as a civilian President. In an editorial on 24 November 2007 The News wrote that the ruling of the Supreme Court was expected, as the judges were picked by Musharraf. However, The News in the same article expressed a hope for transition to rule of law as Musharraf would be forced to resign as head of the army in order to continue as the President.

Musharraf stepped down as the head of the army on 29 November 2007 and The News thanked him for this in an editorial on the same day.

### 7.1.2 Dawn – Dawn Group

#### **The first crisis - Message, angle and support**

In beginning of the first crisis, news articles published in Dawn were somewhat more balanced than those of The News. Even though it necessarily does not represent the views of Dawn at the time, the initial news articles were using less charged words and were not hailing or supporting the Chief Justice to the same degree as The News had done in its initial coverage. Even though Dawn in one of the first articles on 10 March 2007 called the move “... *a highly dramatic move...*” they also presented the government’s viewpoints. Dawn wrote in the same news article that “*Stories about favours given to his [Chief Justice’s] son had already been taking rounds, and his desire to remain in the news through his court decisions was becoming a source of annoyance for some in the government*”. Dawn throughout the initial coverage used the phrase “*judicial activism*” related to chief justice’s earlier actions. Another interesting aspect was that Dawn seemed to quote people who were not directly involved in the crisis, and thereby could assess the situation from a distance. In news article on 10 March 2007 Dawn quoted three former Chief Justices of Pakistan, of who two were of the opinion that Musharraf’s actions were illegal while one of the judges meant that Musharraf had the right to take such action. In the same news article, Dawn also quoted one senior lawyer and two leading human rights activist, all of whom were highly critical to Musharraf’s actions.

If one looks at the editorials, Dawn initial views become even clearer. In the first editorial related to this topic on 11 March 2007, Dawn wrote that another sordid chapter has been added to the judiciary’s chequered history. However, the Dawn also criticised the judiciary for putting itself in the position it was in. According



to the editorial on 11 March 2007, the judiciary, by legitimising earlier military rulers, had become a subservient institution whose duty was to legitimise every authoritarian ruler's assumption of power. This was a rather strong statement, and I have not been able to trace similar statements from The News. In the same editorial, rather than pointing their fingers at Musharraf alone, Dawn criticised the mind-set of the military in general and asked whether they saw themselves as above the law. Even though Dawn was critical of the government's actions, they were using somewhat more cautious language. In addition the editorials were putting the actions of Musharraf and his government in historical context, such as removal of judges by former military rulers and the judiciary's role in legitimising former military ruler. Dawn was in other words presenting a somewhat complicated reality with historical actions as a backdrop for present actions, rather than a black and white picture where one side was the offender and the other side was the victim. If editorials represent the newspaper's views, Dawn was trying to convince all parties to calm down. In an editorial on 13 March 2007 in a message to the protesting lawyers wrote "*A word of caution for the lawyers: revulsion is understandable, but they should ensure that the issue does not get overtly politicised.*" Interestingly, this was exactly the same message Musharraf later would convey to the protestors. On 24 November Dawn reported that Musharraf "*... asked lawyers not to politicise a constitutional matter.*"

My analysis shows a somewhat change in the coverage of the crisis by Dawn after the attack on Geo TV and The News on 16 March 2007. The News in a news article reported on the incident, still using balanced language and without strong statements in contrast to the coverage by The News. However in an editorial titled "*Black Friday*" published on 18 March 2007, Dawn used strong language to condemn the attack. Dawn, in the same articles, demanded an inquiry and asked for those responsible to be punished.

In a news article on 20 March with the title "*Not very convincing, Mr President*", Dawn to a greater extent seemed to take side with Musharraf's opponents. The article was written regarding an interview by Musharraf on Geo TV. In the article Dawn questioned Musharraf's motives and his methods on removing the

chief justice. In addition Dawn seemed to make fun of Musharraf's comments that he could not see any protestors from the balcony of the Army House (his official residence).

Compared to The News, Dawn's coverage of the crisis in the initial days of the crisis was mixed. In the initial coverage, Dawn seemed was critical of Musharraf's actions but Dawn also tried to explain Musharraf's actions by looking at the broader picture with Pakistan's volatile and complicated history as a backdrop. After the crackdown on Geo TV and The News, the tone became somewhat more critical of Musharraf.

Due to the judicial proceedings the coverage of the crisis seemed to lose some of its momentum. There were fewer article related to this topic in April and May of 2007. The news articles were mostly related to protest against Musharraf. There were also fewer editorials in these two months. However, the editorials published were critical to Musharraf and his government.

The coverage again picked momentum in early June 2007 for reasons described in detail earlier. The government was not happy with coverage of allegations towards senior army officers by the Chief Justice. In an editorial on 2 June 2007 Dawn wrote that the government had called for "responsible" journalism. However, Dawn was of the opinion that being responsible does not mean suppressing information. Dawn claimed that it was the constitutional right of the people to have access to a complete picture of the happenings in the country. In a news article published on 5 June 2007 Dawn described new sweepings curbs on media related to the amendments to the PEMRA Ordinance. Even though the news article related to the new media policy was factual, it only quoted people opposed to Musharraf. In an editorial on 6 June 2007, Dawn openly criticised the government and called its new policies a war towards the media. In the same editorial Dawn challenged the government by writing that *"The government should note one simple rule in such situations: the greater the repression, the greater the resolve for defending freedom."* By this time, Dawn was using, at least in the editorials, same king of language as The News. It was clear that

Dawn had sided with Musharraf opponents and the coverage reflected that. In a news article on 7 June 2007, Dawn reported that the government had backed down regarding the curbs on the media. This was described as retreat by the government in the article.

Dawn was a supporter of actions against militants in the Lal Masjid. This affected the coverage of the judicial crisis in June and early July 2007. When the Supreme Court decided to reinstate the deposed Chief Justice, Dawn on 20 July 2007 in a news article called it a defining moment in the country's history and that this was the first time in the country's history that the Supreme Court had ruled against a sitting military ruler. In an editorial published the same day, Dawn went even further and called the judgment a crippling blow to the government.

### **The second crisis - Message, angle and support**

At the beginning of the second crisis, Dawn was more negative to Musharraf than at the beginning of the first crisis. I base this conclusion on how Dawn portrayed and covered Musharraf's actions. In one of the first news articles after Musharraf had declared emergency rules and sidelined the constitution, Dawn on 4 November 2007 wrote that Musharraf had staged a second coup and that he had taken the most extraordinary steps by a ruler in Pakistan in 60 years. Dawn also reported about limitations to media, as all TV-channels and radio stations broadcasting from Pakistan were taken off air. In an editorial on 4 November 2007, Dawn went even further and stated that Musharraf had cheated on the Pakistani people by declaring emergency rule. In the coming days Dawn gave extensive coverage to Musharraf's political opponents, lawyers and human rights activists. In the coming days and weeks, Dawn continued its extensive coverage of protests against the government and most of the news articles were negative to Musharraf. In contrast to the first crisis, Dawn was exclusively quoting opponents of Musharraf in the news articles, and I was not been able to find even one quote in Dawn from a third party in Pakistan who expressed support to Musharraf. The editorials were also highly negative to Musharraf's actions. In

an editorial on 15 November 2007, under the title *"Lift the emergency"* Dawn wrote that an indefinite continuation of emergency rule would have serious consequences both for the regime and for the country.

During the crisis Dawn also gave extensive coverage to the American standpoint. Under the title *"US hardens position on emergency"* on 5 November 2007, Dawn reported that the American government would review its financial aid package to Pakistan.

By 20 November 2007 Dawn reported about countrywide protests against media curbs, where dozens of journalist had been arrested. As described earlier, the government of Dubai had blocked the transmission of several the channels. Following the crackdown on the media, Dawn continued their coverage of protest and opponents of Musharraf. Until 29 November, when Musharraf stepped down as the head of the army, both news articles and editorials critical to Musharraf continued. Following Musharraf resignation, Dawn in a rare moment praised Musharraf's actions. Commenting on Musharraf's resignation as head of the army and taking oath as a civilian leader, Dawn in an editorial wrote that this is a good beginning and that it must be built upon. Dawn emphasised that at a time when Musharraf could have taken a safe passage out of a political mess of his own making by stepping aside as Chief of Army Staff and president, he had decided to give that safe passage to the army. Dawn wrote that Musharraf had served the army well by sending it back to its professional duties and that now it is time for him to serve the cause of national unity by lifting emergency rule and establishing his own credentials as a civilian head of state willing to work under a fully restored Constitution. The most surprising aspect of this editorial was that Dawn actually said that they wanted Musharraf to continue as the President and serve the country, instead of asking for his resignation as the president as well, due to his prior actions.

## 7.2 Media's reaction and coverage – analysis

Together with the killing of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, the standoff between the government of Musharraf and the judiciary in 2007 was by far the biggest news story of that year in Pakistan.

Mezzera and Sial (2010) identified lack of maturity and professionalism as one of the biggest obstacles to objective and truly independent journalism in Pakistan. Based on that, one could expect personal attacks or use of inappropriate language, especially towards Musharraf during the height of the crisis. However, a surprising finding has been that both newspapers I have analysed kept an objective tone. As described in chapter 7.1, it was Geo TV and The News belonging to Jang Group who was especially targeted by the government. The News did criticize Musharraf personally, but they did not use inappropriate language, even when a crackdown on the media was ongoing. Dawn criticized Musharraf to a lesser extent, and to a greater extent linked his actions to a historical backdrop. My analysis shows that Dawn kept a more objective tone than The News, especially in the beginning of the first crisis. During the beginning of the first crisis, The Dawn also seemed to use multiple third party sources, such as retired judges, to nuance the picture. The News was relying on fewer third party sources, and their claims and use of words were more charged and less balanced. Another interesting finding was that Dawn kept a lower profile regarding the ongoing struggle between the Jang Group and the government.

According to BBC, Dawn was one of the newspapers supporting the government in the Lal Masjid assault. Dawn wrote *“There is no room for complacency, and the government must relentlessly pursue terrorists and criminals masquerading as 'soldiers of Islam'.”*<sup>70</sup> Dawn's support of the Lal Masjid operation may have affected its coverage towards the end of the first crisis.

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<sup>70</sup> BBC. (2007). Pakistan press on mosque assault. News.bbc.co.uk. Retrieved from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south\\_asia/6290594.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/6290594.stm)

It would be fair to suggest that during the crises, the media, especially the Jang Group, openly challenged Musharraf, and gave an unprecedented coverage to the movement against Musharraf, especially that of the lawyers. According to Soomro (interview, February 2014) the Pakistani media used strong rhetoric against Musharraf, sometimes without verifying the information. My analysis shows that Soomro was wrong in his claims and that the mainstream print media was rather cautious in their choice of words about Musharraf. Even though Musharraf was criticised personally, especially in some editorials, there was no inappropriate language about Musharraf as person.

Even though it is not part of the analysis, most of the government curbs were directed towards the electronic media, and especially television channels. As described in chapter 7.1, changes in the media policies in June and November 2007 were directed towards the electronic media. It is therefore reason to believe that television channels perhaps were more critical of Musharraf than the newspapers. However, there is a big difference between print and electronic media. It is much easier to be impulsive during heated television debates than in the print media. In print media you cannot be impulsive to the same degree.

Even the foreign media crossed certain limits in their coverage in the crisis. The Daily Telegraph in their article "*Bankrupt relationship*" on 9 November 2007 called Musharraf "*our son of a bitch*," referring to the famous remark by Franklin D. Roosevelt about the former Nicaraguan president and dictator, Anastasio Somoza.<sup>71</sup> The choice of words in the Daily Telegraph led to Pakistan deporting the journalists behind the article within 72 hours.

Both Soomro and Mahmood (interview, July 2013) point to Jang Group as the leading force against Musharraf during the crisis. The analysis supports this claim, as The News in several news articles either directly or between lines portrayed itself and Jang Group as the protector of free speech and democracy. It

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<sup>71</sup> Bankrupt relationship. (2007). Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3643878/Bankrupt-relationship.html>

was also Jang Group who received brunt of the wrath of the government during the crackdowns.

According to Mahmood (interview, July 2013) influential parts of the Pakistani media believed that the removal of the chief justice was wrong. Even though Musharraf did not say this explicitly, Chief Justice Chaudhry was becoming increasingly independent of the Musharraf government. The Chief Justice had prior to the first crisis given verdicts that were perceived to be against the Musharraf government. Under the title "*The Famous cases*" The News on 10 March 2007 in a news article published a list of cases where the Chief Justice had challenged the government of Musharraf. The removal of the chief justice's was therefore perceived by the civil society as what it was – a way for Musharraf to get rid of an obstacle in his efforts to stay in power. This was not accepted by the civil society, especially the lawyers. The media sided with the civil society and became part of the conflict. Journalists were part of the protests against Musharraf, especially when he tried to shut down several media outlets during the second crisis. According to my analysis, The News immediately after the removal of the Chief Justice in March took a stance against Musharraf. By doing so, it willingly or unwillingly acted as a motivational force against Musharraf, which in turn may have led to increase in the protests against Musharraf. Dawn however was more cautious initially. In contrast to The News, Dawn put Musharraf's actions in a historical context. However, Dawn's views and coverage also quickly turned against Musharraf, even though they continued to review the events in a broader historical context.

Even though both Soomro and Mahmood, in their respective interviews, claimed that certain parts of media was clearly against Musharraf, according to Shah, S. (interview, February 2014) the situation was more complicated and it was not clear which parts were in favour or against the Musharraf. According to her, some were unveiling the truth to a great extent while others were playing safely. The government-owned and controlled media was definitely not criticising Musharraf according to her. Nor did the government media provide regular updates on protests against Musharraf. Even though I have not analysed the

coverage of the state media, Sehar Shah's claims might be right. After declaration of emergency in November 2007 all private TV-channels in Pakistan were taken off air, except the government owned Pakistan Television.<sup>72</sup> I to some degree disagree with the analysis of Sehar Shah. My analysis has shown that, even though Dawn urged caution on both sides, the reaction and coverage of the media was one-sided. Apart from some initial articles where Dawn shed light on both sides of the arguments, there was little analysis and coverage of the allegations against the Chief Justice. The Pakistani media used little or no efforts in order to investigate or shed light on the allegations that were made against the Chief Justice. According to Soomro (interview, February 2014) the rhetoric was that the supreme leader of the judiciary is being removed by a dictator, and if the chief justice is taking a stance against the dictator, we should help him out. There was also no discussion around the fact that it was the dictator himself who appointed the Chief Justice. The Chief Justice was also one of several justices who had earlier approved Musharraf's military rule under the "doctrine of necessity". To some degree, I disagree with the analysis. The coverage being anti-Musharraf does not necessarily mean that the media supported the Chief Justice unconditionally. In my view the media was more concerned with pointing out that Musharraf was wrong, rather than showing that the Chief Justice was right. It was the missing rationale and good reasoning behind Musharraf's actions that was more prominent in the media. Musharraf was portrayed as someone holding on to the power.

It is difficult to determine the exact motivational forces behind media's actions. The Pakistani society has little transparency and a complicated hierarchal structure which makes it difficult to map and identify what forces are in play. In my mind there can be several reasons to why the media was so one-sided in their coverage:

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<sup>72</sup> Pakistan Silences Media in Emergency. (2007). Retrieved from [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/11/05/AR2007110501074\\_pf.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/11/05/AR2007110501074_pf.html)



**Coverage:** Due to the liberalisation of the media earlier in the decade, there was huge competition between the different media groups. In that situation it would have been difficult to get the people's attention with balanced and cautious headlines. This may have led the media to take side in the conflict in order to maintain or increase their readership.

**The winner takes it all:** Former military dictators in Pakistan have been in power for around ten years. In 2007 Musharraf had been in power for eight years and his approval ratings were at an all-time low. The media may have sensed that "the winner will take it all" in this situation and they sided with the most likely winner and went against Musharraf. This again led to a self-fulfilling prophecy where the support of the media gave a reinforcing effect on the movement against Musharraf.

**Democracy:** It may have been that the media really wanted democracy to flourish and sided with the protestors to remove a dictator.

**Outside forces:** According to Transparency International, out of 177 countries surveyed, Pakistan is the 127th most corrupt country in the world in 2013.<sup>73</sup> There is no reason to believe that the Pakistani media is unaffected from this social phenomenon. The "secret fund case" has already been described in chapter 2.4. In that case the Supreme Court of Pakistan investigated and released statements from the Pakistani Ministry of Information which showed that 282 journalists in Pakistan received payments and gifts worth 177 million rupees (around 10 million NOK) between 1 July 2011 and 6 September 2012 from a secret government fund.<sup>74</sup> Certain elements of the media were especially against Musharraf. According to Mahmood (interview, July 2013) The Jang Group seemed to have an agenda, but whether they were promoting their own or somebody else's agenda is difficult to say. Mahmood further claimed that whoever had an influence or contacts in the media used them in order to promote their agenda and that this was also true for both Musharraf and his opponents.

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<sup>73</sup> Transparency International, (2014). Corruption Perceptions Index 2013. Cpi.transparency.org. Retrieved from <http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2013/results/>

<sup>74</sup> Supreme Court of Pakistan. (n.d.). Details of expenditure. Islamabad.

Soomro (interview, February 2014) further elaborated on this topic. He claimed that in debates shows, which are perhaps the most influential part of the Pakistani media, mostly people who were negative to Musharraf were invited. According to Soomro it was the “real elite” of Pakistan who wanted to get rid of Musharraf and was using the media against Musharraf. According to him Musharraf was not part of the elite, as he was a military bureaucrat. The real elite according to Soomro were the capitalists, that is, the feudal and the political parties and the international elite. The Americans are very active towards Pakistani media, giving them training and incentives. Musharraf had two main rivals at the time of the crisis, the Sharif and the Bhutto family. Both families have accumulated huge financial wealth, mainly through family business and corruption in their previous government periods. Benazir Bhutto’s husband, Asif Ali Zardari, was known as “Mr. ten percent”, for receiving his share of contracts awarded by the government. I however completely disagree with Soomro on the point of the “real elite”. By 2007, the military generals governed Pakistan in 32 of the 62 years the country had been independent. Around 20 % of the government’s annual expenditure went to the military.<sup>75</sup> Having in mind that Pakistan is a developing country where only half of the grown population can read, this money could have been spent on education. In this situation, claiming that military generals are not part of the elite is to be naive. But I support Soomro in his claims that many other than just the military had their interests at stake, and everybody was trying to use the leverage they had towards the media.

My analysis has not given any conclusive evidence to support any of the above-mentioned theories. I have come to the conclusion that the media may have acted in self-defence. Musharraf’s acts against the judiciary can be seen as acts of a man trying to cling to power. If he had succeeded in removing the judiciary as an obstacle, the next obstacle in line would probably have been the media. This is the same pattern as former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif followed. According to The News According to The News in 1997 leaders and workers of PML-N stormed

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<sup>75</sup> The World Bank, (n.d.). Military expenditure (% of central government expenditure). [online] Data.worldbank.org. Available at: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.ZS>.

the Supreme Court building in Islamabad and forced then Chief Justice Syed Sajjad Ali Shah to adjourn the contempt of court case against the then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. As described earlier, Sharif tried to silence those parts of the media that were critical to his government.

The media can play an important role in making someone unpopular or popular. The media might have sensed that if Musharraf was able to get away with his crackdown of the judiciary, as Sharif did in 1997, he could be of the opinion that his hands were free to do whatever he wants. The conditions in which Musharraf allowed the media to be liberalised and flourish in 2002 were completely different from those of 2007. In 2002, the promise of American aid in return for Pakistan's support on the war on terror, high popularity and little or no political opposition may have made Musharraf overconfident. In 2007, the actions were those of a man whose popularity had declined, political opposition was on the rise and the country was suffering from large number of terror attacks. In this situation, the media acted in the only way they could – directly or indirectly supporting the opposition to Musharraf.

### **7.3 Media's impact on the political crisis**

The media played an important role in the crises in Pakistan in 2007. However determining exactly how significant the media's role was is a difficult question. The media were only one of several factors influencing the outcome of the power struggle in Pakistan.

In the media that I analysed the following four decisions were assessed as mistakes and errors by Musharraf in 2007. The first one was the removal of the Chief Justice in March 2007. The second one was the attack on the Lal Masjid which caused massive civilian casualties. The third one was the NRO which cleared several politicians of former criminal charges and thereby making them Musharraf's allies. The last and the gravest one was the proclamation of the

emergency rule in November 2007. Had the government controlled the media, Musharraf's failures would not have been so visible in the society. Musharraf also sidelined the constitution in 1999 when he came to power. According to Mahmood (interview, July 2013) the media played the role of initiators in pointing out Musharraf's failures and the rest of the society followed. The public also realised that the electronic media were a platform which they could use to present and promote their views. One can only imagine how the outcome of the power struggle of 1999 between Musharraf and Nawaz Sharif would have been had the media been so powerful in 1999. The reaction to Musharraf's takeover might have been different.

According to Shah, S. (interview, February 2014) *"When you have to go you have to go. Media did play the role of a catalyst but was not the most important reason in overturning Musharraf's government."* This argument would suggest that Musharraf would have been overturned from power anyway due to the overall situation in Pakistan. However, if one looks at the history of Pakistan, leaders seldom leave without being forced to do so. Pakistan's first military dictator, Field Marshall Ayub Khan, was forced to hand over the power in 1969 when his former allies turned against him. Zulifqar Ali Bhutto, who succeeded Khan was removed in a coup in 1978 by General Zia-ul-Haq and sentenced to death. Haq himself was killed in a mysterious plane accident in 1988. Haq's successor, the daughter of Zulifqar Ali Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto, was forced out of the office by then president Ghulam Ishaq Khan in 1990 on charges of corruption. Nawaz Sharif, who succeeded Bhutto, was forced out by the military in 1993 after falling out with the same president. Bhutto succeeded Sharif but was forced out by then President Farooq Laghari on charges of corruption in 1996. Sharif once again succeeded Bhutto, but was forced out in a military coup in 1999 by General Pervez Musharraf. This would suggest that Musharraf probably wasn't going to leave, just because it was *"time for him to leave"*. There had to be an outside force that had to force him out.

Soomro (interview, February 2014) disagrees with Shah, S. (interview, February 2014) and claims that the major reason behind the removal of Musharraf was the

coverage and content in the media. The media content was used as a pressure. The media created an environment that motivated people to come out on the streets and the result was that they forced Musharraf to leave. This is in line with the analysis of Hujab Shah at the Center for Strategic and International Studies who claims that media, and especially Jang Group, played a vital role in the downfall of general Musharraf. According to Shah, H. (2010) *“Jang puts the Pakistani judiciary in the spotlight as a counterforce to the current Pakistani government.”* According to him, the media, especially Jang and its affiliated publications and channels, galvanized national opinion in reporting the initial sacking of the chief justice leading to nationwide protests. The new Lawyers’ Movement that grew out of this crisis eventually brought about Musharraf’s downfall and Chaudhry’s reinstatement according to him.

As described in chapter 7.2, Musharraf was not the only leader who earlier had picked a fight with the institutions like the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Former Prime Minister Sharif did the same thing in 1997. The attack on the Supreme Court by Sharif’s supporters did not result in any big protests against Sharif and he was allowed to continue as Prime Minister. One major difference between what happened in 1997 and 2007 was the situation of the media. In 1997 the only nationwide TV-channel was controlled by the government, and the newspapers without their affiliated TV-channels or other mediums such as Internet, did not have the reach they had in 2007. This could to some degree suggest that the media was pivotal in removing Musharraf from power. However the comparison of the situations in 1997 and 2007 may not be fair. The situation in Pakistan in 1997 was in many ways different from that of 2007. In 1997 Pakistan was not even familiar with the concept of suicide bombings and the security and economic situation was different. In addition, the other judges in the Supreme Court sided with Sharif in 1997, whereas the judicial community was Musharraf’s biggest critics in 2007.

It was ultimately pressure from within Pakistan that led Musharraf to resign as the head of the Pakistani army. The media played a role in showing and pointing out the errors and mistakes of the leaders to ordinary people, and thereby

increasing the opposition to Musharraf in the public. The pressure for Musharraf to step down did not only come from the media, but from across the Pakistani society. Nasim Zehra, senior Pakistan journalist and former fellow at Asia Center, Harvard University summarised the “new” role of the Pakistani media excellently:

*“Examination [by media] of every move gives a fair share of public hearing and also self-examination, to all players. The resulting public censure, or approval, now informs the power players of the limits of their power, constitutional or otherwise.”<sup>76</sup>*

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<sup>76</sup> Zehra, N. (2012). How a vibrant media can thwart a coup. [online] Tribune.com.pk. Available at: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/320505/how-a-vibrant-media-can-thwart-a-coup/>.

## 8 Conclusion

In this thesis I have looked at how certain parts of the Pakistani media covered and reacted to the events leading up to Musharraf clinging to power in 2007, and later his downfall from power. In addition I have tried to analyse and discuss what impact media had on the overturn of the government of Musharraf and his downfall from power.

Liberalisation in this thesis is defined as the process and steps taken by the Pakistani government to ensure a regulatory framework through which electronic media was regulated and in the end allowed to flourish. There is no single answer to why Musharraf initiated the liberalisation of the Pakistani media. His personality and confidence, especially in the initial years, has certainly come up as an important factor. Musharraf viewed himself as the saviour of the Pakistan society and wanted to be portrayed as liberal. Musharraf also realised that media could play a role in economic growth. But it was probably the fact that technological developments probably would make it impossible for the government to hold back on establishment of private media on a large scale that may have been a game changer. I find it difficult that a military dictator, however powerful and popular, would allow for a large scale increase in private media initiative, unless he or she had no other choice. I therefore believe that Musharraf and his government realised that the media revolution would come, either they wanted or not, and that it would therefore be better to facilitate the transition and development through an authority and retain some level of control, rather than let the situation get completely out of hand.

In both the crises I have looked at, the media early on sided with the civil society and judiciary against Musharraf. There were differences in the coverage by the two newspapers I have looked at. During the first crisis, The News was much more direct in their criticism of the actions of Musharraf from the start, whereas Dawn was somewhat more cautious in the beginning. However, Dawn also came around and was criticising Musharraf's actions after some weeks. Most of the coverage in the print media was negative to Musharraf's actions and his

opponents were given substantial coverage. The first crisis lasted several months and this also resulted in some wear and tear on the coverage of the crisis. This, combined with the security situation, especially the attack on Lal Masjid, meant that the coverage of the judicial crisis drowned to some extent in other news.

During the second crisis, the media was much more outright in their opposition to Musharraf. The media had perhaps sensed that Musharraf was a weaker leader after his defeat in the Supreme Court in July, when the sacked Chief Justice was reinstated. Especially The News and Jang Group saw upon themselves as the spokespersons, promoters and defenders of free speech and the democracy. It was also Jang Group who took most of the beating and crackdown from the government. Compared to The News, Dawn did put Musharraf's actions in a historical and broader context. They to some degree showed that Musharraf's actions were not different from his predecessors. Dawn put emphasis on criticising historical mistakes that had led to the current situation, rather than criticise Musharraf alone.

I have discussed several possible reasons for why the media reacted the way they did. One rational and logical explanation seems that the media may have acted in self-defence. After former Prime Minister gained an upper hand on the judiciary in 1997, the media was his next victim. Sensing that the history might repeat itself, media was protecting the freedom and liberties they had gained in the past years. In this situation, the media acted in the only way they could – directly or indirectly supporting the opposition to Musharraf.

What impact the media had on downfall of Musharraf is difficult to say.

Musharraf's popularity was on an all-time low and his political supporters were facing a defeat in the parliament. In my view it was more a question of when and how Musharraf would have to go, rather than if. I consider the media's role to that of an accelerator, in which media's coverage led to more unpopularity for Musharraf and thereby removing his political base. Through media, Musharraf was able to see the massive sentiment in the society against him, and he understood that he either had to resign as President or Chief of Army Staff.



Holding on to the Presidency, Musharraf opted for resigning from the Army. Through doing so, Musharraf no longer had the unconditional support of the powerful army and was left alone with a weak political alliance which was facing defeat in the upcoming elections.

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# Appendix 1 – Interview questions

- 1) What was the state of the Pakistani media before Musharraf came to power in 1999?
- 2) Why do you think General Musharraf liberalized the electronic media market in Pakistan in the early 2000's through the *Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Ordinance* and creation of *Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA)*?
  - a. Some say that the media was liberalized in order for the government to get revenues. What is your opinion on that? Or do you think Musharraf genuinely wanted the media to be free?
- 3) How was the interaction between the government (Musharraf and PEMRA) and the media from 2002 to 2007?
  - a. Was the media, especially electronic media, free in this period?
  - b. Were there any cases of censorship towards the media in this period?
- 4) How did the media cover and react to the crisis in Pakistan in 2007, when Musharraf removed the Chief Justice and later imposed emergency laws?
  - a. Were there any parts of the media that were particularly in favour of or against Musharraf?
- 5) What impact did the media have on the removal of Musharraf from power?
  - a. Would the outcome of the power struggle have been different if the media was not free?
- 6) What would you say is the state of the Pakistani media today?

# Appendix 2 – Newspaper articles

## *The News – Jang Group*

Date	Title	Type	Content	Stance
04/11/2007	<i>“1973 Constitution held in abeyance”</i>	News article	Describes the implementation of emergency. Uses phrases like “shocked the Nation”	Anti- Musharraf
04/11/2007	<i>“A coup against the Supreme Court”</i>	News article	This article tells that there has been a coup against the Supreme Court of Pakistan for the first time in its history	Negative to Musharraf
04/11/2007	<i>“Tough new media policy introduced”</i>	News article	The article describes new media policy implemented by the Government together with the state of emergency. The articles call the new media policy tough.	Negative to Musharraf
04/11/2007	<i>“World leaders criticise state of emergency”</i>	News article	The article describes foreign reaction to implementation of the State emergency in Pakistan.	Descriptive, Negative to Musharraf
05/11/2007	<i>“Deposed chief justice confident of success, defiant”</i>	News article	The article describes the deposed Chief Justice’s viewpoint on the emergency.	Negative to Musharraf
06/11/2007	<i>“President’s game plan will change drastically”</i>	News article	The article describes Musharraf’s possible future choices and their outcomes. Between the lines the article says that Musharraf always has wanted the power to change the Constitution.	Negative to Musharraf
06/11/2007	<i>“Musharraf has pitched Army against civil society”</i>	News article	The article claims that Musharraf, by imposing martial law, has pitched the civil society against himself and the army. The article also explains that the reaction to Musharraf’s actions have been very negative.	Negative to Musharraf
06/11/2007	<i>“Government threatens to seal Jang press”</i>	News article	The article explains that police in the city of Karachi moved in to seal the printing press of the Jang Group after the management refused to stop printing one of its papers.	Negative to Musharraf
07/11/2007	<i>“Deposed CJ urges uprising against dictatorship”</i>	News article	The article describes that the deposed Chief Justice want people to rise up against Musharraf.	Negative to Musharraf
07/11/2007	<i>“US envoy urges CEC to announce polls schedule”</i>	News article	The article describes that the Americans are against Musharraf’s recent moves and want elections shortly	Negative to Musharraf
08/11/2007	<i>“Threats to bomb media offices, kill owners slated”</i>	News article	The article describes threats against media houses and journalists in Pakistan.	Negative to Musharraf
11/11/2007	<i>“Suspension of Constitution is a major sin: Ghamdi”</i>	News article	The article describes that a renowned Islamic Scholar sees the suspension of Constitution as a sin.	Negative to Musharraf
12/11/2007	<i>“Massive crackdown”</i>	News	The article describes that the government has	Negative to

	<i>on PPP in Sindh</i>	article	cracked down on workers of Pakistan People's Party in the province of Sindh in order to stop them from organizing rallies against the government.	Musharraf
12/11/2007	<i>"Asma slams changes in Army Act"</i>	News article	The article describes that renowned Pakistani lawyer and human rights activist, Asma Jahangir, slammed a move by Musharraf to give the Army increased powers	Negative to Musharraf
13/11/2007	<i>"Street pressure forced Musharraf to hold polls early"</i>	News article	The article describes that increasing protests against Musharraf in the streets of Pakistan led Musharraf to accept early polls and not postpone them with six months.	Negative to Musharraf
14/11/2007	<i>"PPP marches despite over 200 arrests"</i>	News article	The article describes that Pakistan People's party, despite arrests, managed to hold rallies against Musharraf throughout the largest province, Punjab.	Negative to Musharraf
15/11/2007	<i>"Benazir, Nawaz to launch Negative to Musharraf movement"</i>	News article	The articles describes that leaders of the two largest opposition parties have agreed on two points: Throw out Musharraf and restore the Chief Justice.	Negative to Musharraf
15/11/2007	<i>"Negroponte will talk bluntly to Musharraf about emergency"</i>	News article	The articles describes that the American Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte will be holding talks with Musharraf and that he would be very aggressive in telling Musharraf that USA is against the emergency.	Negative to Musharraf
16/11/2007	<i>"If Musharraf falls..."</i>	News article	The article describes that the American Government has started to lose faith in Musharraf and were discussing who might come after Musharraf.	Negative to Musharraf
16/11/2007	<i>"A lame-duck NA which left no mark"</i>	News article	The article criticises the outgoing Parliament for being ineffective and being supportive of Musharraf.	Negative to Musharraf
17/11/2007	<i>"Musharraf shuts down Geo TV"</i>	News article	The article describes that Pakistan's largest TV-channel has been shut down because it refused to bow down to Musharraf.	Negative to Musharraf
17/11/2007	<i>"Politicians condemn Geo closure"</i>	News article	The article describes that number of Pakistani politicians have condemned the closure of Geo TV.	Negative to Musharraf
18/11/2007	<i>"Countrywide protests against Geo closure"</i>	News article	The article describes nationwide protests against Musharraf for closing down Geo TV.	Negative to Musharraf
19/11/2007	<i>"No fair polls if media stays gagged, says Negroponte"</i>	News article	The article describes that US Deputy State Secretary stating that there could be no fair polls if the government continues to strike down on the media.	Negative to Musharraf
19/11/2007	<i>"Deposed CJ says shutting down Geo is violation of Constitution"</i>	News article	The articles describes that deposed Chief Justice has stated that closing of some media outlets was in violation of the Constitution of Pakistan.	Negative to Musharraf
19/11/2007	<i>"Geo closure:"</i>	News	The article describes that journalists throughout	Negative to

	<i>journalists up in arms</i>	article	the country continued their protest against shutting down of Geo TV and ARY TV, as well as other attempts at curbing media.	Musharraf
20/11/2007	<i>“Eligibility to contest presidential polls”</i>	News article	The Supreme of Court of Pakistan rules that Musharraf was eligible to contest presidential elections, and thereby confirming him as the elected President of the country.	Neutral
20/11/2007	<i>“Benazir, US envoy condemn Geo ban”</i>	News article	The article describes that both the leaders of Pakistan People’s Party and the US ambassador to Pakistan slammed the closure of Geo TV.	Negative to Musharraf
20/11/2007	<i>“Deposed judges release ruling against Musharraf”</i>	News article	The article describes that three deposed judges released a ruling against Musharraf, in contrast to the Supreme Court appointed by Musharraf. The ruling says that Musharraf could not contest Presidential elections.	Negative to Musharraf
20/11/2007	<i>“Media to be allowed to cover polls: Musharraf”</i>	News article	The articles describes that President Musharraf has reiterated his belief in independent media and that they will be allowed to cover the elections.	Neutral, somewhat pro-Musharraf
24/11/2007	<i>“Musharraf asked to quit Army by Dec 1”</i>	News Article	The article describes that the Supreme Court of Pakistan dismissed all claims against Musharraf and gave him until 1 December to resign as army chief and take oath as a civilian president.	Neutral
26/11/2007	<i>“Nawaz back, the game changes”</i>	News article	Former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif returns to Pakistan. Huge rallies in support of him	Negative to Musharraf
28/11/2007	<i>“Media bodies agree to improve ties with govt”</i>	News article	The article states that organisations representing Pakistan’s media and the government agreed on improving ties and that the government agreed to remove new laws that curbed the media.	Neutral, somewhat pro-Musharraf
29/11/2007	<i>“Musharraf hangs up his uniform”</i>	News article	The article describes that Musharraf has resigned as the army chief and handed to position over to General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani.	Neutral
29/11/2007	<i>“Restrictions on TV channels challenged in SC”</i>	News article	The article describes that restrictions on TV channels that came in place together with the emergency law are challenged in the Supreme Court.	Negative to Musharraf
30/11/2007	<i>“Musharraf sworn in as civilian president”</i>	News article	Musharraf is sworn in as a civilian president.	Neutral
30/11/2007	<i>“Emergency, PCO to go on December 16: Musharraf”</i>	News article	The article describes that Musharraf has promised to end the emergency rule by 16 December”	Neutral
30/11/2007	<i>“Dubai rulers let Geo go on air”</i>	News article	The article stated that Geo TV, which airs from Dubai, is allowed to god back on air.	Neutral, somewhat Negative to Musharraf
16/12/2007	<i>“Emergency gives way to Constitution”</i>	News article	The article states that president Musharraf has lifted the controversial state of emergency and restored the Constitution of the Country.	Neutral

## ***Dawn– Dawn Group***

<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Content</b>	<b>Stance</b>
04/11/2007	<i>“Gen. Musharraf’s second coup: - Charge-sheet against judiciary - media “promoting negativism” – Country’s “integrity a stake” – Legislatures intact”</i>	News article	Describes the implementation of emergency. Uses phrases like that Musharraf “have run out of options”	Anti- Musharraf
04/11/2007	<i>“Martial law in grab of emergency: Bar”</i>	News article	Describes the thoughts of the lawyers regarding imposition of emergency (Asma Jehangir)	Negative to Musharraf
04/11/2007	<i>“Business, industry offer divergent reaction: Imposition of emergency”</i>	News article	Concerns of businessmen and industrial players on implementation of emergency	Negative to Musharraf
04/11/2007	<i>“Karachi: Emergency: media, judiciary come under assault”</i>	News article	PEMRA confiscated the Radio channel, Judges take a new oath and no clear line of action against emergency rules by the parties	Negative to Musharraf
04/11/2007	<i>“Crackdown on lawyers”</i>	News article	Several political leaders and lawyers were arrested or put under house arrest in all parts of the country	Negative to Musharraf
05/11/2007	<i>“Larkana: Emergency a confession to failure, says Mutes”</i>	News article	Describes the disapproval of The Sindh national front chairman on the imposition of emergency	Negative to Musharraf
05/11/2007	<i>“Imposition of emergency condemned”</i>	News article	Lawyers and opposition leaders oppose the suspension of fundamental rights of people by imposing emergency	Negative to Musharraf
05/11/2007	<i>“Countrywide crackdown: Hundreds of lawyers, rights activists and politicians detained”</i>	News article	Opposition politicians, prominent lawyers and right activists were detained in several cities and towns	Negative to Musharraf
05/11/2007	<i>“Call for quick return to democracy, rule of law: China expresses concern”</i>	News article	Many countries expressed their concern and views about the emergency (China, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Australia and France)	Neutral
05/11/2007	<i>“Wajih says Musharraf acted in league with NRO beneficiaries”</i>	News article	Describes about the views of former supreme court judge that Musharraf imposed the emergency under the influence of Pakistan People’s Party (PPP)	Negative to Musharraf
05/11/2007	<i>“US hardens position on emergency”</i>	News article	US will review its financial aid package to Pakistan	Negative to Musharraf
06/11/2007	<i>“Bush urges President to quit</i>	News	President Bush wanted	Negative to

	<i>military: Rice conveys message</i>	article	Musharraf rescind his decision as well as hold elections in January	Musharraf
06/11/2007	<i>"Iftikhar hits out at Musharraf"</i>	News article	Justice describes the emergency as a naked attack on the constitution, rule of law and independence of judiciary	Negative to Musharraf
08/11/2007	<i>"Benazir calls for reinstatement of judges: Long march unless Musharraf backs down"</i>	News article	Benazir threatened Musharraf with a long march he did not accept her demands	Negative to Musharraf
09/11/2007	<i>"Benazir wants pre-emergency judiciary to decide cases"</i>	News article	Benazir said, the revival of constitution is about restoration of judges	Negative to Musharraf
09/11/2007	<i>"Iftikhar ready to meet president for judiciary's cause"</i>	News article	Iftikhar decided to meet Musharraf on the cause of the judiciary	Negative to Musharraf
11/11/2007	<i>"Civilians can be court-martialled: Army Act amended"</i>	News article	Describes about the amendment in the army act of 1952 that give more power to the army	Negative to Musharraf
11/11/2007	<i>"Government expels three British reporters"</i>	News article	Three journalists were expelled for using abusive language about Pakistan and its leadership	Neutral
12/11/2007	<i>"A positive step, but emergency must go: US"</i>	News article	Ms Rice said that to hold elections is a positive step but the emergency must go as well	Neutral, somewhat negative to Musharraf
12/11/2007	<i>"Asma assails changes in Army Act"</i>	News article	Describes that the promulgation of the amendments was alarming and gave power to military courts	Negative to Musharraf
13/11/2007	<i>"Benazir under seven-day house arrest: Govt determined to stop long march"</i>	News article	Government tried to stop long march by arresting PPP workers	Negative to Musharraf
15/11/2007	<i>"1999-like situation necessitated emergency, SC told"</i>	News article	Describes his reply to petition filed in the Supreme court against his proclamation of emergency	Neutral
16/11/2007	<i>"Benazir, Sharif slam Musharraf's move"</i>	News article	Benazir and Sharif showed their concern about Musharraf removing his uniform	Negative to Musharraf
17/11/2007	<i>"Soomro, 24-member cabinet sworn in"</i>	News article	Caretaker cabinet were sworn in by Musharraf	Neutral
17/11/2007	<i>"DAWN- Opinion: November 17, 2007"</i>	Article	Describes that Pakistan deserves better leader	Negative to Musharraf
18/11/2007	<i>"PPP workers arrested in Pindi, Gujar Khan"</i>	News article	PPP workers were arrested while leading rallies	Negative to Musharraf
18/11/2007	<i>"UAE admits stopping Geo, ARY"</i>	News	UAE refuse to tell that why they	Neutral

	<i>broadcast”</i>	article	have blocked the transmission of GEO and ARY	
20/11/2007	<i>“Musharraf gets SC reprieve on re-election: All but one pleas dismissed”</i>	News article	Supreme court dismissed all the petitions except one	Neutral
21/11/2007	<i>“Countrywide protests against media curbs”</i>	News article	Journalists held rallies in different parts of the countries protesting against media curbs	Negative to Musharraf
21/11/2007	<i>“Dubai urged to allow Pakistan TV broadcast”</i>	News article	US called Dubai government to reverse their decision to close GEO & ARY	Negative to Musharraf
21/11/2007	<i>“No country can prosper by gagging media”</i>	News article	Journalists protested against media curbs	Negative to Musharraf
21/11/2007	<i>“Arrest of journalists condemned”</i>	News article	The committee to protect journalists said that Musharraf should back away	Negative to Musharraf
24/11/2007	<i>“SC hands out clean chit to Musharraf: Emergency, PCO validated- Deposed judges criticized”</i>	News article	Chief justice validate the action to impose emergency	Positive to Musharraf
26/11/2007	<i>“Sharif’s finally home: Jubilant welcome in Lahore, Nawaz vows to struggle for democracy, Demand for restoration of pre-November judiciary”</i>	News article	Sharif returned to the country and promised to bring back the rule of law, and said that he will live and die for people of Pakistan	Negative to Musharraf
26/11/2007	<i>“Musharraf to hang up uniform on 29<sup>th</sup>: AG”</i>	News article	Musharraf will take oath as civilian President	Neutral
28/11/2007	<i>“Musharraf urged to step down”</i>	News article	Many senior retired officers of the armed forces urged Musharraf to step down as President too	Negative to Musharraf
28/11/2007	<i>“Nawaz assures full support to judiciary, media”</i>	News article	Sharif said that he will be a full support for media and judiciary	Negative to Musharraf
28/11/2007	<i>“Kayani takes over command from Musharraf today”</i>	News article	Musharraf will hand over the command of army forces to Kayani	Neutral
29/11/2007	<i>“Musharraf retires to full time politics: Gen Kayani gets the baton of command – Civilian President takes oath today”</i>	News article	Musharraf handed over the command of army forces to Kayani and thanked the Army for showing loyalty	Neutral
29/11/2007	<i>“Army to benefit from Musharraf’s retirement”</i>	News article	PPP leader refuses to accept him as a civilian leader	Negative to Musharraf
30/11/2007	<i>“Emergency to end on 16<sup>th</sup>, says President”</i>	News article	Musharraf promised to lift emergency	Neutral
30/11/2007	<i>“Musharraf tells West ‘we will do it our way’”</i>	News article	Musharraf welcomed Benazir and Sharif and said that we have to defeat terrorism	Neutral

01/12/2007	<i>"Musharraf to quit as situation worsens"</i>	News article	Musharraf said he can leave if the situation got worse after the elections	Neutral, somewhat Negative to Musharraf
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